

Trust Houses Forte

-SPECIAL FEATURE

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10p

THE RIGHT LINES UP

RECENT ACTIONS of the National Association For Freedom show how scared the ruling class is.

So scared that parts of its right wing is organising for attacks on workers.

NAFF's injunction against the Union of Postal Workers not to black post to the strike-hit firm of Grunwick in North London, followed up by a similar injunction as regards telegrams and operator connected phone calls to South Africa shows this, as does yet another obscenely racist speech from Enoch Powell in his attempts to get white workers at the throats of black workers.

This right wing, while spouting a lot of hot air about freedom, is attempting to take away any gains the working class has won in this country over the last hundred years.

Witness Eldon Griffiths, Tory MP for Bury St. Edmunds, in a speech in which he attacked trade union closed shops.

Freedom?

Witness Airey Neave, Tory spokesman on Northern Ireland, when he talked about freedom — that's a joke — in Northern Ireland. "The Government, despite the miserable activities of the Troops Out Movement, must persist in defence of that freedom"



BELOW: Drawing attention to the British problem in Ireland . . . "miserable activities" says Tony Airey Neave. Photos Michael Sheridan and Mark Rusher (IFL)



whole neighbourhoods go in fear of the British army bully boy?

And what kind of freedom is it at Grunwicks where workers are victimised for attempting to form a union?

What kind of freedom is it in South Africa where blacks and coloureds suffer incredible exploitation policed by the vile system of apartheid?

Let's be clear where we stand over the UPWA and the NAEP. Tom Jackson is one of the more right-wing union leaders, and the black on South Africa post could have been referred to the membership.

Nevertheless, the whole case shows ruling class fears over South

Africa and any attempt to assist the struggle for freedom there is important.

Overrule

The case also shows the right-wing bias of the judiciary, and the attempts of one section of the bosses to overrule through the courts any decisions of the Labour Government.

Silkyn represents the social-democratic wing of the ruling class, who want to maintain a left cover for the benefit of progressives and radicals, and who desire a liberalisation in South Africa which they hope will act as a safety valve against deeper and really significant change there.

In the Labour Party itself, Shirley Williams leads an attack on the left of the party, and confirms what

not, as yet, been a spectacular response to rising prices and cutbacks, workers around the country have been involved in a series of strikes over union recognition and equal pay.

Experience and organisation are being built up in fights that they are fairly certain they can win if they show determination.

TRICO, in West London, for example, where women won equal pay after a long and bitter strike.

Automat, in Swinton, Manchester, where 25 workers won union recognition after a year of struggle, despite financial support to the boss from the NAFU.

And the strike of Grunwicks in Willesden continues for basic Trade Union rights, still solid after many weeks. (See also Trust House Forte, in this issue).



This lorry driver was persuaded not to cross the picket line by women on strike for equal pay at Magnavox, Barking.

many know already when she openly speaks out against socialism and any attempt to get the Labour Party to adopt socialist measures.

Socialism cannot be legislated through parliament, nor does it mean paternalistic state control in the supposed 'interests' of the working class.

The working class alone, by its own activity, can build socialism. At the same time we should attempt to get through to lower ranks of the Labour Party, pointing out the bankruptcy of the Party and how the Labour right wingers are attempting to stifle any opposition, and how the real fight for socialism must be fought outside the Party in the workplace and neighbourhood.

Waking up

While the bourgeoisie organises its forces, the working class is not completely asleep. While there has

In Sheffield, 25,000 engineering workers came out in protest against the threatened closure of the Capital Tools factory, part of the Edgar Allen Balfour group, which would put 400 out of work.

At MagnaVox, in Barking, East London, 150 women struck for equal pay, and in Greenwich 70 steelworkers struck over safety at work.

In Nottingham, five women workers refused to clear the dangerous substance asbestos, and came out. Their strike has been a long and hard one, with little support from their union officials.

Actions continue up and down the country. Slowly workers are building up resistance, often against the union bureaucracy as well as the bosses.

It is very important for long term success that a genuine rank and file is built, so that nation-wide support can be gained for these local strikes and serious opposition to the bosses' attacks can be mounted.

Editorial Collective.

EGA stays OK!

WORKERS OF THE EGA Hospital for women in London have been occupying the hospital for over three months. The occupation, which is in response to DHSS attempts to close the hospital, is supported by all the Unions and staff involved in its running.

Doctors, nurses and all other staff are continuing to work as usual and patients are still being admitted.

A continuous picket of workers and supporters is in action to monitor arrivals and to prevent the removal of patients and machinery.

The hospital is the bigger of only two general hospitals in the country run by women for women. It has been steadily run down over the past few years and as early as October 1974 hints of the forthcoming closure led to the formation within the hospital of an Action Committee composed of various sections of the staff and including one patient.

In February last year Barbara Castle announced that the hospital would be moved from its present site on Euston Road in Camden and incorporated into a district hospital "in an identifiable form".

No adequate reasons were given for moving the hospital and the workers do not take seriously the proposition that it can be incorporated into the Millington Hospital in Islington without losing its identity as a women's hospital and with no loss of facilities.

Job loss

The move will undoubtedly mean a reduction in health care facilities in both Camden and Islington, as well as a loss of life.

The hospital was founded by Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the first woman to qualify as a doctor in Britain, to give women the chance to train and practice as doctors and to provide health care for women by medical staff of their own sex.

As such, its closure is an attack not only on health standards in general, but on women in particular.

Women have always received second class treatment under the national health service.

Many of our health problems are treated unhygienically or passed off as neuroses. This is particularly true in the case of menstrual problems and minor disorders of genital and reproductive organs, such as cystitis, thrush etc.

Women make on average 25% more visits to a doctor than men, yet because of the shortage of women in the medical profession, few women have the possibility of being treated by a doctor of their own sex. A member of the shop stewards committee at the hospital described women doctors as "the single most important service in the E.G.A."

A BIGGER AND BETTER HOSPITAL.

SAVE E.G.A. Hosp.
PETITION AVAILABLE HERE

In many third-world countries, especially Chile, etc., foodstuffs are actually exported to the developed countries, in spite of shortages and the fact that people in the developed countries consume on average three times as much per head.

Similarly, another Asian family, consisting of 2 adults, one child and a lodger in a house with 3 bedrooms, one kitchen, one living room and one bathroom, were told to provide an additional bathroom for the lodger.

Environmental Health Officers have demanded to see passports and other proof of identity of Asian families and their visitors.

The occupation challenges the contribution to the improvement of safety in its relation to women.

Mr. Charles Cookford, the firm's safety officer, will receive a framed certificate.

In May last year 12 men were fired (given the boot?) for complaining about safety conditions at the Cony St. site.

For example scaffolding was secured by being strapped to a chimney, an unsafe shortcut, but made more precarious when

The EGA Campaign meets every Tuesday night at 6.30pm at the EGA.

The rich get richer...

1976 SAW RECORD CROPS throughout the world, with the wheat harvest topping 400m tons for the first time ever. The world stockpile of wheat now stands at 156m tons, an increase of 41% over 1975.

Does all this extra food mean people getting more to eat? Our food correspondent investigates.

In the last thirty years world food production has increased by 155%.

In the same period, population has risen less: 67%.

This would seem to mean an increase in the amount of food available for each individual - yet in fact the opposite has been the case.

At the same time there have been plans for drastic action to slow down the birth rate.

Forced sterilisations in India have resulted in the murder of sterilisation programme workers.

Concentration

The problem is clearly not one of population but of distribution. Ownership of land has become concentrated - fewer and fewer hands, with 25% of the larger landowners (not including smallholders and farmers under 250 acres) owning 3/4 of all the world's land, and of these 0.23% control over half.

They have increasingly tended to be the food multi-nationals, whose primary concern is profits rather than actual needs.

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Witheld

Capitalists' food policy is to encourage a scarcity system in order to drive prices up. This involves withholding produce from the market, taking land out of cultivation that year, the USA, for example, of 270,000,000 acres of land.

The naturally tends to drain food away from the poorer countries to the rich ones where higher prices can be set. The world's largest food exporter, the US, exports largely to the EEC countries, or enormous contraction. As world food supplies actually increase, the amount that the poorer countries can afford gets less.

The situation is likely to worsen as the increase in world food production slows. The multi-nationals will try to maintain the state of profits at the expense of hundreds of thousands of lives through famine and falling standards of nutrition for the two-thirds of the world that are already underfed.

PUTTING THE BOOT IN

Building Contractors Henry Boot Ltd., well known to York residents for the precarious construction of the Smith's Singer complex in Cony St. have, believe it or not, won a major safety award for the second year running.

It was awarded for the "most significant contribution to the improvement of safety in the UK building and civil engineering industry during the year".

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In May last year 12 men were fired (given the boot?) for complaining about safety conditions at the Cony St. site.

For example scaffolding was secured by being strapped to a chimney, an unsafe shortcut, but made more precarious when

The men were asked to demolish the chimney.

The men were also asked to burrow down a 8ft shaft under the foundations and tunnel through them - but no supports were provided for this.

At this stage the men complained and then began an occupation of the building that lasted five weeks, until they were reinstated and safety precautions taken.

During the same period workers on an other Boot site in Northampton were also feeling the full force of unsafe conditions.

On that site 3 men were killed in as few as two weeks and another last year was seriously injured.

As one of the workers on the Cony St. site succinctly commented when told of Boot's award "You must be . . . ing joking".

York Free Press Nov 1976

ASIANS HARRASSED

Over the past few months Southdown Press in Leamington Spa has been investigating the activities of the Environmental Health Department, following rumours that the department was singling out Asians for special treatment.

They visited a typical multi-racial urban-occupied street and called at each house to ask if the occupants had been visited by an Environmental Health Officer (EHO) in the past year.

They found that whilst none of the white families had been visited in living memory, all the Asian families were visited regularly every few months.

None of the families had been warned beforehand of the visits, though the department is legally required to give at least 24 hours' notice.

The purpose of the visits, at least the reason given, was to 'ascertain whether the houses were overcrowded'.

None of the houses visited were in multiple occupation, and in most cases any people staying in the house when the EHO visited who were not members of the immediate family were only temporary guests.

Appeal

But in one case, a family of seven had been their nephew staying with and the officer told the family he had to get out.

Eventually he was allowed to stay when the occupier appealed against the decision - this was in a house with four bedrooms and two living rooms.

Equal pay for non-white women in the area was a nonsense the document stated, as so many were employed as home-workers or in sweatshops where pay was below subsistence level for all immigrants who could not speak English were not informed of their rights in DHSS offices, it said.

The document concluded that self defence against racist attacks, race hatred, and discrimination by petty bureaucrats was the only meaningful, effective action Asians and other non-whites could take in this situation.

Upstairs

They often went 'upstairs' to have a look around uninvited and without

to this pamphlet Jo Freeman attempts to sketch out an approach to organisation that would prevent the growth of elitist leaderships-which both highly centralised and highly informal groups of

In translation from the typewritten structure of governments, unions and other organisations some anarchists have shied away from any meaningful consideration

of self-organisation. The Anarchist Workers' Assembly played no part in the writing of this pamphlet but has found it highly applicable to the sufficiency of anarchism in British in recent decades.

Send 5p + 7p p&p to AWA, 13 Colman Street, Hull, Humberside for a copy. 10 or more 35p each. Please make cheques/POs payable to: 'AWA General Fund'.

DEPORT THE CIA!

THE POWERFUL role of the security services in securing the deportations of journalists Mark Hosenball and Philip Agee is increasingly clearly being seen as only part of their intervention throughout the political sphere.

CIA or British intelligence for BOSS for that matter? No difference. They work together so closely, in Britain and in the third world that they amount to the same thing: the agency for the implementation of American/NATO imperialist foreign policy by clandestine means.

Four major instances that are still going on are coming to light: the destabilisation of Jamaica; the case of the Polish double agents; the intervention in British politics of the National Association for Freedom, and of course, the deportations themselves.

Panel

It became clear during the hearing of the absurd 'Independent' panel into the Agee case that the ex-CIA



Marlyn Rees... I say with my little eye.

agent's intervention in Jamaica was a primary reason for his deportation. It is true that the only indication was that the three retired bureaucrats on the panel showed marginally more liveliness than usual when the subject was raised, and actually wrote down notes. Of course, the details of the precise accusations against the two

caught and got 25 years. Others had to be lifted out of Poland as the net tightened.

In addition there have been the totally unsubstantiated smears that two British agents were killed.

This last allegation was reported to have been put by Marlyn Rees to Liberal leader David Steel.

At no time has it been explained who the two men might have been, or where they were working.

It can only be assumed by Agee that they were two of the Poles.

It is a confusing affair, but the significance is clear: the original leaks came to a New York magazine from an acknowledged CIA source.

Originally the CIA said the spies were working for the French after the deportation threat that changed to the Bre Brits!

There is no substance at all to any suggestion that Agee had anything to do with the exposure, whoever they were.

Neither he nor anyone who has worked with have ever exposed the identity of any western agents in Poland.

But the western intelligence network has been able to invent allegations that he has, and, more

importantly, to present them to the British Government as unchallengeable fact.

Naturally, therefore, the legal records of the case, and show all the actual charge sheets, were inaccessible to the accused and his counsel, consequently one did not know in general, or at least did not know with any precision, what charges to meet in the first place, accordingly it could be only by pure chance that it contained really relevant matter.

A report of the Agee hearing? No, it's a smear from *Kapla's* classic novel *The Trial*, in which the accused never knows the charges and never sees the judge.

might more sophisticated than its American protege and its agents are not publicly identifiable as diplomatic staff operating under cover.

But the pattern would be the same as that of Guyana in 1967: it has been proved that toppling Jagan was a joint operation.

The dirty business of the breaking of the Polish spy ring is another CIA-MIG job.

One of the smears loaded on Agee is that his 'revelations' led to the uncovering of a ring that has at various times been said to have been working for CIA, Britain and France.

One member, the Olympic fencing Gold Medalist Jerzy Pawlowsky, was

caught and got 25 years. Others had to be lifted out of Poland as the net tightened.

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REES TO BE DEPORTED ?

IN ORDER to illustrate the absurdity of the Home Secretary's action, the Edinburgh Evening News has published a cartoon by David Steel.

The cartoon is a piece of street theatre about the activities of the CIA. It shows a man in a suit, identified as Marlyn Rees, being escorted by two men in military uniforms.

Philip Agee's appeal against deportation with a picture of Marlyn Rees, the Edinburgh Evening News, has been a success in that it has led to the CIA's decision to deport the journalist.

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Wales army protest

OVER 600 residents in the small western Welsh town of Aberystwyth have signed a petition condemning the use of a nearby beauty spot as a training ground for the army.

The petition was organised by the Aberystwyth Anarchist Group and so great was the response that the local council rejected the army's application.

The army have claimed that their usage of the beauty spot—the site of an iron age hill fort—would not inconvenience the residents of a nearby working class estate, but at the same time they have admitted that flares and thunderclaps would be used.

The local council have thrown their hat to the county council, but even if they uphold the decision, the right is not so long a haul.

Other activities include showing of anarchist film, fund raising events and regular street sales of *Anarchist Worker*.

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Placards

Police, dogs and tear gas were laid on to help keep them out.

Placards bridged the moat, carpets smothered the barbed wire. Farmers donated straw bales to help scale the defences.

The demonstrators pitched camp for the night. In the meantime the press and TV left, and the police seized the chance to attack. They provoked off the floodlights, and went in wearing clubs and

knives. Some demonstrators were injured and some needed to be hospitalised.

The next day the demonstration resembled, but couldn't achieve the impact of the Saturday. Fall kits were flown to interfere with police VHF radio; some private aircraft used by the protestors were intercepted by army

helicopters.

A fortnight later, seven times as many protestors turned out (over 35,000). As they besieged the site, police attacked with gas grenades, helicopter support and little concern for how many they injured. Over 100 people were wounded.

Local villagers described the scene variously as 'civil war' and 'concentration camp'.

The nuclear lobby, the previous week, could scrape together only 600 nuclear workers from all over Germany to gather for them.

It's high time we started to wind up the nuclear disaster and research into ways of cleaning up the mess world-wide capitalism has created.

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THF WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE CATERING INDUSTRY has always been notorious for long hours, abysmal pay, lousy conditions and lack of union organisation among its workers.

Recently, however, a number of disputes have erupted throughout the country, which show that catering workers are no longer prepared to accept their miserable lot.

At the Grosvenor Hotel in Sheffield, the Randolph Hotel in Oxford (both part of the Trust Houses Forte empire) and the Linton Lodge Hotel in Oxford workers are on strike for union recognition and proper contracts of employment in a fight to gain decent wages for decent hours with guaranteed overtime rates for antisocial hours.

In each case the reaction of management has been one of outright hostility, workers have been intimidated, victimised, and sacked merely because they are exercising their right to belong to a trade union.

Anarchist Worker interviewed shop stewards at the Oxford hotels, and has a report from a former employee of Air Catering Services in Manchester which throws more light on the conditions catering workers have to put up with, and the underhand methods Trust Houses Forte (THF) use against their workers.

AIR CATERING SERVICES is a Trust Houses Forte concern which operates in airports throughout the country, controlling in-flight and ground catering and the provision of duty-free goods.

At Manchester Airport, ACS Flight Catering runs 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, throughout the summer - employing over 80 people. In the winter this is scaled down to approximately 30.

Workers are divided into different sections, each with at least three different shifts and different breaks, thereby ensuring very little cohesion and unity in the workforce.

In the same area, THF run two hotels; conditions there and in ground catering are known to be worse than average in catering.

Flight catering is the only plant where the work force is unionised.

Sex discrimination is implicit in the division of labour and reflected in the wage differentials.

Women are employed in the repetitive, conveyor belt preparation of food, and men are employed for the more 'skilled' jobs - portering, checking, driving and so on.

employed on the lowest wage level were required to pay the higher subscription. A shop steward was questioned about the obvious discrimination and replied that "you couldn't expect a man to cut sandwiches for that money" - The emphasis on the role-playing as the low wage.

Seasonal
Anyone employed after April was employed on a seasonal contract expiring on Oct 31. Many of these seasonal

workers were students.

The management, however, deliberately encouraged divisions and antagonism between permanent and seasonal workers, young and old, taxed and non-taxed, men and women.

Many students were there to make a fast, tax-free buck and were justifiably criticised for showing no interest in work working conditions or in their fellow workers.

The short term contract system is extensively used by THF as an easy way of getting rid of trouble makers.

Many people over retiring age were also employed as the chance of them getting another job if sacked are minimal.

THF has always actively discouraged unionisation, their job made easier by a predominantly female workforce, a high labour turnover and a reliance on seasonal workers.

At Manchester Airport the Union was only recognised after a 2% day strike and conditions have since improved compared to other THF branches in the area.

The Union, T&GWU, made no attempt to organise seasonal workers, who comprise when groups of us asked to join and were unable to provide us with copies of the union constitution.

Later in the summer, wages as the 11-time workers and a substantial number of seasonal workers at that time.

At the Union members, it was ridiculous as there was active encouragement of articulation on a shop-floor level and a reliance on seasonal workers.

Many workers expressed dissatisfaction with the Union because of past sell-outs.

The General Manager, Stewart, had dealt with the union by having permanent token negotiations, which were sufficient to placate opposition, especially in the light of many other premises.

The union had been 'negotiating' for a badly needed sick room and paid nurse for over a year.

Blacklist
Stewart had often boasted about a blacklist and threatened any individual that he would ensure that they would

- the date was brought forward from 14 January and we had no time to prepare a defence.

The T&G provided us with a detailed and past travelling expenses, but we just sat there, we couldn't do anything.

We were told we had no grounds for security of tenure as our agreement was a matter to severant relation.

As soon as we stop providing a service the tenancy, which is part of our remuneration, ends and we have to leave the premises.

We have got a house rent-free from Short Life Housing, but only till the end of January.

What are your future plans?
At the moment we are concentrating on getting the T&G to bring its members in Oxford on a one day strike and to organise blacking of all THF hotels.

We are also drawing up a black list of suppliers and so on who have consistently broken the picket line - our blacklist won't be secret though.

because hotel wages are so abysmal. This shows the importance of welcoming women and immigrants into the movement, the prejudice against them at work has only comparatively recently and possibly been overcome enough to allow them to become involved in struggles.

Their previous isolation, as well as allowing them to suffer bad conditions meant they could be used to undercut or sack on union labour.

For more information, contact Dave Telford, 127 Bolton Road, Oxford. DON'T FORGET to contact the union to help with the continuation of the strike and the defence of the worker pickets.

Please pass notices and money to the T&GWU 5/870 strike fund c/o the above address.

Victimisation in Oxford

THE DEVELOPMENT of the disputes at the hotels in Oxford followed a pattern which is becoming typical of small service enterprises with no established union and anti-union management.

In the Linton Lodge two waiters were dismissed on November 17 after joining the T&GWU.

14 of the 22 workers at the hotel came out in their support and were sacked.

They were sent letters by the manager which blatantly say "The reason for your dismissal being that you are now taking part in this strike".

The strikers set about picketing the hotel and the T&GWU made the strike official on November 22.

At the Randolph - Oxford's only 4 star hotel - the chambermaids went on strike on November 22.

On Friday the management picked on four of the chambermaids and said they would be thrown out unless they were prepared to start working weekdays.

As they had children they could not do this and were given notice. On the following Monday the rest of the union came out on strike. This was swiftly made official and a picket established.

The pickets have been harassed by both management and police. To date six pickets have been arrested at the Linton Lodge and one at the Randolph on a variety of charges ranging from abusive language (sacked 7) to 'criminal damage to a part of spectacle'.

But despite this and the atrocious weather the pickets are still holding out. They need every bit of support they can get to counter the management's intransigence (strengthened) it seems by the National Association For Freedom to make for the shortcomings of the T&G bureaucrats' backing.

Anarchist Worker talks to Margaret Rattourne, T&GWU 5/870 shop steward at the Randolph.

What were conditions like at the hotel? Before we joined the union conditions weren't very good at all.

When I first went there there were no such things as dusters or cleaning materials, we had to use towels and pillowcases or bring our own from home.

After we joined the union we had bag someone each to do so we were kept reasonably clean. We also got a new housekeeper, who got at cleaning materials which made it easier.

How support have you had from the T&GWU during the strike? Not as much as we'd hoped for. I don't think the officials have done as much as they could have considering one of them said he 'sucked a bloody ear' on the catering in-shed!

Where has your support come from? We've had a lot of support from the town, from the police, workers and from students. They've done a good job on the picket line, good few customers have been only too anxious to go elsewhere and the pickets have supplied information on other hotels available.

How have come to support us off their own bat because they've heard of the strike - have been contacted? No one has been officially called out yet.

What picket have you had from inside the hotel? There has been a lot of abusive language from those still working there from inside the hotel, I think, despite what you read in the papers.



Those inside are just there to take advantage of what we'll have won when we go back.

What comes next? We are prepared to go on to the end. We want to keep in contact with other hotels on strike and particularly to get other THF places out. Someone from Club One in Coventry came to see us while they were on strike.

The staff at the management centres at British Leyland, which is run by THF came out for a day but we'll have to make more contact with workers ourselves, we can't rely on T&G channels.

He interviewed Joseph Tosti, the shop steward at the Linton Lodge.

What do you think of joining a union? We applied for a contract of employment and we thought it would give us some strength in action for better working conditions.

Why are you sacked? It's illegal to say that it was for joining a union.

ing most of the major T&G branches have passed motions of support, donated money, and refused to cross the picket line.

It isn't surprising they drag their feet. Some are secretly convinced that the present course of the country and opposition to the industry are in the workers' best interests; others simply are concerned for their own jobs (which might carry little weight if workers developed more confidence in their own fighting and organising abilities).

But isolated as they are from the everyday areas of struggle, full-time members are unlikely to be converted to activism in the way that a rank and file member is through years of experience.

National action needs to be publicised and coordinated by the T&G, but only

union; they said it was because we hadn't settled after five months and our work was unsatisfactory. But he also said he would give us references, the one contradicts the other.

He refused to recognise the union, didn't let us, when the staff tried to defend themselves against the sackings?

The letter of recognition from our union arrived in the morning; in the evening we were sacked.

The manager has refused to meet our union official unless his solution is present.

How has the T&G helped you? Mainly financially; they declared the strike official in four days which is something of a record.

After this - it was just a lot of words, nothing very promising for the future either. Do you still think you were right in joining the union?

Yes, unions are a good thing providing you choose the officials.

People have come to support us because they've heard of the strike. Most have come through the Oxford Student Trade

Union Liaison Committee and Ruskin College.

How effective are the pickets here? We've had a very good response from suppliers; the first day we stopped nearly every delivery. We've turned away some customers but that's a bit harder.

The hotel lost £4,000 before Christmas; it must be a lot more than that now. How is the management reacting?

They are very aggressive, but a picket up, pushed a car right down the road into a fence with the help of a few of the strong arms they have at the hotel.

We know for sure that the National Association For Freedom is supporting the management. Their paper had all the details of the strike on the front page and they helped the management in the High Court over the eviction.

What happened in the eviction? On the 6 December the staff living in hotel lodgings were served with a summons to appear in court 4 days later.

members reading this, or anyone who has anything to do with THF can get a motion of support for the strike raised, black local THF concerns and inform Oxford T&G of their willingness after discussing the question of sympathy action.

Unionise
This struggle is important not only for the THF and hotel employees, but for the fighting for union recognition for

needing to develop ways of spreading the message of the strike and the leadership of the worker pickets.

It will also benefit other employees - as in catering in local government, who are already being undermined, and where wages better than average for their industry, but which is still dominated by law

never get employment with THF anywhere, unless, after this worker had taken part in strike action.

THF has a nationwide network of files on all their employees, which appears to be a necessary means to ensure employment of trouble makers.

Management is so honest (usually usually to admit this, but Stewart took pride in showing his antagonism towards the workers.

He made various comments regarding his political opinion, including, "Things would be different without my party," or "crossed," "It's party, got in."

His attitude was consistently employed in trying to keep him in check, especially after the Flight Catering Duty Manager had threatened to take strike action.

In the past a Duty manager had

Stewart on increased staff levels.

They were ordered to return to work and refused.

They were then ordered to take her section to work on their belt, which did.

The workers were advised to return by Stewart.

Meanwhile, Stewart commented that some people were necessary to keep the sacked workers, a guarantee of continued employment for a worker who was told he was to be made redundant in October, and an increase in staffing levels.

The strike was 100%. However, only the reinstatement of the sacked 3 workers was agreed before the union recommended a return to work.

Demands

We demanded the reinstatement of the sacked workers, a guarantee of continued employment for a worker who was told he was to be made redundant in October, and an increase in staffing levels.

The strike was 100%. However, only the reinstatement of the sacked 3 workers was agreed before the union recommended a return to work.

A meeting between Stewart, the Shop Stewards and a full time T&CWU worker was arranged but delayed for over a week.

Staff levels were barely increased. The redundancy was only resolved by workers acting on their own initiative and threatening further industrial action, until a commitment was given.

This worker was moved to a different shift, a frequently employed method of breaking unity in the work force.

One of the original workers left because of intimidating pressure from her supervisor.

Isolation

It must be pointed out that the union official working in isolation, as they chose to, were also subject to victimisation and other more subtle pressures.

New shop stewards seemed to suffer from the union's complacent and disorganised state.

Neither of the two remaining workers were re-employed when their contracts expired.

One of them was accidentally given her discharge form with her last wages.

The crossed out letters suggest that the original intention was to write 'communist'.

A second form was seen which stated that the worker was persistently late, and slow in his work and would not be re-employed.

He complained and Stewart changed the form. Other workers were told no such form existed.

This kind of backsliding is a mere extension of the grading, classifying and branding which pervades our existence from school onwards.

Many airport workers seemed to feel that their only means of challenging their working conditions was through sabotage.

The union, we were repeatedly told, would get us nowhere, their constant negotiations being unsuccessful and demoralising.

Management strategy was designed to exploit all possible divisions between workers.

It is a blatant grotesque exploitation of labour, it is not surprising that the most successful companies in the catering industry.

Luddism

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FULL HOUSE FOR BINGO STRIKERS

WORKERS involved in struggles for trade union recognition can take heart from the victory, won recently by the 70 women employed in Club One and the Flatts, two Coventry bingo clubs which are part of a chain of businesses controlled by Roy Enterprises.

The women, who before the strike were being paid a weekly £60 in an hour, were fighting for the right to belong to the TCUW.

The management was only prepared to recognise the National Association of Theatre & Cinematographic Employees (NATKE) whose normal wage rates were below what the management were paying.

They came out on strike on Oct 22/23 and kept a picket going for 11 weeks.

Delivery drivers stopped delivering beer, milk and bread, and the dustmen stopped emptying the bins.

Many customers refused to cross the picket line even though the clubs were run by peak labour (including a NATKE official).

The majority of the women had never been involved in a strike before.

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ORGANIC POLITICS- COMMUNITY TECHNOLOGY SURVIVAL SKILLS...

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100% LOST AND
FINDS OF
NATURAL MEDICINE
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THE NEW WORLD OF
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Manchester

Searches

Stewart collaborated closely with the airport police, and authorised searches of workers as they left work.

Under the contract, THF had the right to search an employee's home as well, which they did.

Flight catering created a tremendous venture, fantastic over-packaging - plastic everything in plastic bags - all thrown away, and workers were rarely allowed to take food home.

Obviously there was a considerable lot of theft going on, at all levels, and many workers were sabotaging meals and equipment as far as was possible.

The company relied on natural vestige of seasonal staff in September before contracts are terminated in October.

For about a fortnight, the workload remains the same when many workers have left.

In September, the airport drivers complained of the low staff levels in Flight Catering which affected their work.

Stewart's promising negotiations. When pressured he claimed to have put forward to the airport which had been 'accidentally omitted'.

One morning, four seasonal workers in one section refused to continue work without a firm commitment from

So what's all the fuss?

THE POEM published below was first published in *Gay News* No 96, June 1976, and is republished here without permission from author or publisher.

It is the subject of a *Criminal* Blasphemy action brought by the notorious *Fluffy* (the author of the poem) in support of *Gay News*, opposing the charges behind the pending prosecution.

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The love that dares to speak its name

By James Kirkup

As they took him from the cross
The carter, took him in my arms -
A laugh that rang from
The carter, took him in my arms -
A laugh that rang from
The carter, took him in my arms -
A laugh that rang from

HOT UNDER THE COLLAR

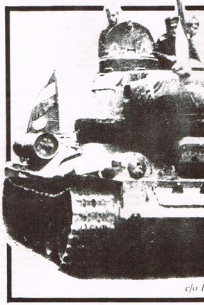
SEXUAL attraction between men and women has been used in conditioning their expectations - marriage settling down to a secure job, starting a family, acquiring responsibilities, not making trouble, and becoming isolated from those outside the family.

It is used to sell commodities, and to bolster up the oppression of women and the consequent weakening and division of the labour force and the community.

The domination of women by men is part and parcel of the authoritarian and hierarchical organisation of society. Distrust and fear of anything new or different - sexuality, colour, different tastes in food even - is all too common, but it is up to every libertarian socialist, every class-conscious worker, to point out that homosexuality is no more of a threat to the working class than flying saucers.

When one worker calls another a "poof" in the loop who wins because a divided working class is a beaten one!

Editorial Collective



"The young workers were the power of the revolution. The students began it, but when it developed they did not have the numbers or the ability to fight as hard as these young workers."

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a watershed in socialist history.

Now, after the Stalinist ice age which had gripped the working class movement for so long, came a thaw: a lot of people began to question the very nature of Communist Party ideology.

An Anarchist Worker Special Supplement describes the events - the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe; the death of Stalin; the rising in East Berlin and Poland; the unrest in Hungary leading up to the revolution of October; the formation of workers and peasants councils; a glorious flowering of genuine proletarian revolution; the street fighting and the eventual crushing of the revolution.

Single copies 5p + post from AWA.
c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8. Bulk orders welcome.

letters

Aberystwyth

Dear Comrades,

Aberystwyth Anarchist Group is known the largest group of its knowledge this is the only town in Wales which is a substantial group of anarchists who meet regularly as a group.

A small group exists in Swansea, otherwise anarchists in Wales are active only on an individual basis, though in the past there have been a number of libertarian socialists active in Swansea.

In recent months the anarchist group has particularly active in extending the efforts of Joe Niosi and Marie Murray to Wales.

Apert from Aberystwyth itself, the largest group of anarchists in all the large Welsh towns, either by comrades from Aberystwyth itself or by comrades from other towns, in towns who have and libertarian socialists in towns who have through leaflets produced by the Aberystwyth group.

Through these activities the group has also become involved in the Welsh Prisoners Defence Committee which is becoming

active in the defence of political prisoners in Wales.

Aberystwyth Anarchist Group is now fully established and copies of *Anarchist Worker* are being distributed in Wales and it is becoming easier to sit in the town.

In Wales as a whole, however, the anarchist movement is scattered and in effect, with virtually no regular contact between individual comrades or groups. To overcome this weakness, efforts to establish a Federation of Welsh Anarchists have been underway for some time and are approaching fruition.

A national conference will probably be held early in the new year.

In the meantime we ask all comrades in Wales who have not yet done so to get in contact with the Aberystwyth group. Letters can be sent to Students Union, Llaner Hall, Aberystwyth.

fraternally,
Mike Sheehan
Aberystwyth Anarchist Group

Free fall

Dear Comrades,

While reading the October issue of *Anarchist Worker* I was rather disappointed to come across a piece of economic determinism in a paper which proclaims to emphasise the social nature of revolution.

I am referring to the article on the TUC at Brighton which uncritically states that the Law of the Falling Rate of Profit leads

to the belief that the capitalist mode of production has inbuilt tendencies to collapse, stagnate or fall into crisis.

I would like to point out that this law is a very poor means accepted as gospel by those Marxists who have attempted to develop a critical analysis of modern society merely capitalism.

The law has been rigorously examined by Paul Cardan in *Modern Capitalism and Revolution*, 2nd Edition, 1974, and Geoff Hodgson in *Tronky and Fallacy: Marx's Criticism*, Sponsons Books, 1975. (See also Geoff Hodgson, *New Left Review* 84, March-April 1975, pp 55-82).

Cardan argues that the Law of the Falling Rate of Profit is a logically inconsistent, but empirically false.

Hodgson argues that the evidence presented by Olvin and Sutcliffe as an attempt to prove the Law of the Falling Rate of Profit does not in fact result from the forces originally identified by Marx.

Since both of our arguments are lengthy and detailed it would be unwise of me to attempt to duplicate them or summarise them here.

However, I urge all those interested in developing a critical of traditional revisionist ideology to read the above mentioned books.

In doing so we must reject the concept of the capitalist economy inexorably grinding its new towards its final collapse and the corresponding politics of waiting for the crisis.

We must recognise that there is now a high degree of state control in the British

economy and a 1930's style crash is most unlikely.

Of course I am not suggesting that we reject the theory of a crisis and it is quite clear that British capitalism is in a state of severe economic crisis at the present.

However we must accept that the cause, both objective and subjective, are so complex and diverse that they cannot be reduced to a simple equation.

We can only develop our theory through the investigation of concrete economic conditions from the point of view of practical revolutionary struggle.

your fraternally
L.W. Brighton.

Shock probe

Hello,

Regarding the headline in the October *Anarchist Worker* "Millions trapped in 8 Hour Horror!" - it's really bad, it's the sort of thing you expect from the WRP.

Everyone I showed it to laughed at it, not though it was really bad, it's not the sort of thing you can analyse.

It's obviously just to see you, must have felt that when you thought it was, surely?

Well, I will analyse it "I've got now else to do. Perhaps it was an attempt to state to the 'main in the street' or maybe 'the working class'."

I doubt it though, no one could be patronising enough to think that.

There are people going round who wouldn't be put off by that style.

It really reminded me of *Newsline* with a bit of Thatcher thrown in.

Perhaps you thought that a bit of sensationalism would catch people's eyes, if so it's a very cheap trick, and from my experience doesn't fail in the long run.

Thanks for reading this far,
Michael Parkinson,
Newcastle.

Edcoll write:

As hoped that headline provoked quite a lot of reaction. With this single exception, it's a very cheap trick, and from my experience doesn't fail in the long run.

This letter is critical. Was the headline too inflammatory? How much should burnout be of the new with the struggle?

Left publications can be having, both in the way and how they put it across, it's an acknowledged fact.

They have to say a dozen last in tangled logic, any 'vision' is swept aside.

Our headline was meant to be a piece of pages like *Newsline*? News of the World and so on.

Not, however, using headlines that are simple, but dark serious, not sensationalist.

It is a stronger criticism, however, if the impact of the headline detracted from the article itself.

Any comments on this, and discussion of the nature of 'work' are welcome.

Rally against sex discrimination

THE SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT and the Equal Pay Act were brought in through pressure from the women's movement and the labour movement.

But the law cannot force employers to give equal opportunity

to women any more than it can establish reasonable conditions for all workers.

From a leaflet produced by the rally planning committee:

"The real victories have been won by women who have had to engage in active struggles, as at Trico.

But what to win in pay in lost as unemployment soars and the cuts force women to take a greater burden of caring for children, the old and the sick, and, non-urgent operations - hysterectomies, abortions etc. are postponed for weeks or months."

Rally

The Rally will draw together the experiences of all those fighting for women's rights, from the most militant such as the occupation of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital to those just beginning to connect the lack of women's

Cash needed

AFTER a gap of eight weeks, ANARCHIST WORKER is out again.

Why have two issues been missed? The answer: a cash flow crisis. In a word - money. AW has never been a self-supporting paper. It doesn't carry pages of advertisements, so revenue doesn't automatically come in. It survives on sales and the goodwill of supporters.

1976 saw the paper become increasingly adventurous in design. To get across libertarian communist politics to people outside the small circle of the left we wanted to make it attractive and easy to read, putting colours to good use. This all cost money.

opportunities with the exploitation of all workers.

The exchange of information and lessons will enable a start to be made to organise joint action on a national scale.

The rally should not be seen as an end in itself, but as a basis for future action and a focus for local discussion of the issues and a reminder that it is possible for women to fight for their rights and against attacks on their living standards.



CLASS STRUGGLES

- 1 Capitalism is a class society.
- 2 The basic & irremovable contradiction within capitalism is between the class which owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the class who work for wages and produce the industrial wealth, the working class.
- 3 The social environment and exploitation of the working class forms the basis upon which modern capitalism stands, without which capitalism would not exist.
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- 8 The day to day struggle of the working class reflects the class struggle. The position of the working class in society is determined by the society's wealth makes it the only

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Photo: Anthony Ward (Hagart)

Abortion rights

OBTAINING a safe abortion will become even more difficult if the Bill to be submitted to Parliament on 26th February becomes law. This emerged from the National Abortion Rights Tribunal held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Saturday 26th January. The Tribunal, which was organised by the National Abortion Campaign and attended by several thousand people, was a response to the resignation of the pro-abortionists from the Select Committee set up to examine the workings of the 1967 Abortion Act. Despite the defeat of the James White Bill 2 years ago, the committee has again recommended the tightening up of the abortion law.

The new bill, to be introduced by William Bervon, Conservative MP for Bucks, is based on these recommendations and is expected to include the following provisions:

1. The reduction of the time-limit by which abortions must be performed from 28 to 20 weeks.
2. The condition that the two doctors recommending an abortion may not be connected, and that at least one of them must have been in practice for five years – the only other duty for the Act is that a doctor needs 5 years of experience in the signing of a cremation certificate!
3. The banning of links between abortion referral agencies and clinics. A measure clearly aimed at the charitable institutions which carry out almost half the non-NHS abortions in Britain.

This will make the whole process far more time-consuming and will considerably curtail women's chances of obtaining an abortion within the legal time-limit. The bill will also make it much more difficult for foreign women to obtain abortions in Britain. Further, anonymity will be granted to persons bringing complaints against abortion clinics and in such cases police will be granted right of access to all records. This will clearly make it far easier for SPUC and its supporters to harass both clinics and patients.

The introduction of the bill comes at a time when the already inadequate provisions for abortion under the NHS are being severely curtailed by government cuts in welfare expenditure. Given the attitude to abortion in our society, it is inevitable that abortion facilities will be among the first to go.

The majority of Area Health Authorities have never complied with their legal obligations in this field. The 1967 Abortion Act

stipulated that all women who satisfied the legal requirements for an abortion should be able to have it carried out on the National Health Service. This has never been the case and in fact the proportion of NHS abortions has consistently declined since 1968 to its present level of 50%.

In some areas (e.g. Birmingham) it is as low as 12 per cent. The cutting back of abortion facilities – and the complete closure of some units, such as the one at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in London, will hit particularly hard at poor and working class women who will not be able to afford the £60 for a charity abortion.

While the present abortion law is limited in its support of a woman's right to choose, our immediate task is obviously to prevent its replacement by even more restrictive legislation.

Evidence submitted to the tribunal from all over the country proved that large numbers of women and G.P.s are strongly in favour of the 1967 Act, and the support should be mobilised to counter the extremely effective campaigning of the anti-abortion organisations.

However, we should not lose sight of the fact that the Act falls far short of establishing the right of every woman to free, safe and untraumatic abortion on request, and leaves us, totally at the mercy of doctors, consultants and health authorities. So let's mobilise to defeat the Bervon Bill – but remember that this is only the beginning. Free abortion on demand will only be achieved with the mass support of working class women. We can enlist this support by campaigning for abortion within Trade Unions and the Community and by linking the demands for abortion and women's health care generally with our fight against the cuts.

NAC is organising a demonstration on 26th February followed by a public meeting, and these should be supported by as many people as possible.

Radical Science Journal
No. 5 now available £1.00 136 pages
Contents: PATRICK PARRINDER – The Black Wave: science and social consciousness in modern fiction; DAVID TRESMAN – The Institute of Psychiatry Sackings; BOB YOUNG – Science & Social Relations; Letter: LOUP VERLET – La Course ou la Vie (Publish or Live).

Subscription: £3.00 (individual), £9.00 (institutional) for 3 issues post paid from Radical Science Journal, 8 Palford St, W1.

LAMBETH WASTELAND

ON JANUARY 8, 11,000 pages of High Court summons and affidavits, were served on the 130 'illegal' squatters, both families and single people of Villa Road.

Villa Road is due for demolition in order to create another pile of rubble and corrugated iron officially termed an 'open space'.

Lambeth council prepare a really dirty trick here: at the same time as entering into negotiations for rehousing the squatters, they were working hard on the court case for forced evictions.

A local Trades Council enquiry presented a report which would allow for the rehhabilitation of the houses as well as a play-space – but for the council to consider this would have been to admit the stupidity of their own planning.

For Villa Road, when faced with a local building workers' ban on demolishing good, empty properties, the council brought in lump workers to do the dirty work.

Lambeth has the worst housing shortage of any London borough, with a waiting list of over 17,000 homeless families.

A common sight all over the borough are acres of fenced-off wasteland and streets of boarded-up and squalid deteriorating empty houses.

Yet the Labour-controlled council housing committee has just decided to demolish 40 houses at St Anne's Place, as well as Villa Road, for the sake of another 13 acres of open space.

This is a part of a plan to link a park of 120 acres to another of 38 acres. But the money for this will not be available until the 1980's, and even then, this may not come about, since the GLC opposes the closing of the road itself, as do the police.

Over the last fifteen years, while thousands of families have been denied housing, half the perfectly good houses in the street were allowed to fall into disrepair.

December, despite opposition from the community of squatters and tenants, was planned to demolish by dozens of police moved in to put two

They tore out floorboards, windows,

ripped off roof slates and sawed through joists, making the houses uninhabitable.

The council vandals started work immediately after the eviction of an old woman, who was led away in tears after having lived there for thirty years. This was done to prevent squatters moving in.

But it gets worse. Lambeth have now refused to consider an offer by the Lambeth Self-Help Housing Association to renovate and keep in repair all the houses at no cost to the council.

This would mean housing for 300 people for a few years.

The council has also rejected out of hand a report by two independent architects which states that the houses could be given a 20 year life in spite of the council vandalism.

Lambeth SHHA used to operate 5½ years ago as a small group of committed squatters who were given licences for limited periods and eventually rehoused by the council.

They financed their own repair, and have now rehoused over 200 families through their building co-operative, and a grant from the Housing Corporation.

The co-op has a work-force of ten, six of whom are employed through The Job Creation Scheme, and three of whom are school-leavers.

Compare this with Lambeth Council's record, succeeding in rehousing only 300 families a year, and paying out £50,000 a year in bed-and-breakfast bills for the homeless.

In fact, rehabilitation by LSHHA would generate a yearly income of rent, but Lambeth prefer to spend their money on bed & breakfast and demolishing good houses to keep tenants out.

A leading Tory councillor has said: 'To make sure that the extra population does not stay should demolished houses that encourage them to do so?'

Lambeth are determined to stamp out squatting, because it forces them to shatterly state housing tenement families.

Squatters draw attention to council

of housing black, property people, trained not by people's needs, but by an

more system.

S.D.



Demolish!

The GLC predicts that Lambeth will have a declining population: Lambeth council is doing its best to make this come true.

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What's on

You are welcome to advertise your events here, but please remember it costs money to bring out AN, so donations are welcomed.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST A CRIMINAL TRESPASS LAW

MAR. 6th – MERTHYR TYDFIL Wales CACT, Day Conference. Sponsors include AUEW/TASS Welsh Divisional Council. Details from Jeremy Genn, 31 Monmouth Rd, Abergeenny, Monmouth.

MARXISM & THE MASS MEDIA

A two-weekly series of open forums from January to May. Organized by media workers, mainly from Equity and NUJ, in the IMG but they will be of a open nature with hopefully, active participation of all shades of socialist opinion.

Various people, most of whom are not in the IMG, will briefly introduce each session, but discussion will not necessarily be limited to the framework they set.

FEB. 20th at 7pm The mass media and the class struggle – introduced by Paul Walton, co-author of Bad News. Section 8 Racism in the mass media – introduced by Tunde Anthony, co-editor of Black Struggle and Mandy Harack of Time Out and Red Rag. For venues see Time Out. Aspiring column.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION (GLASGOW)

Public discussion will be held regularly on the first and third Monday of each month at the St Bride's Centre, Roseville St, Gifford Dundrum Rd, Glasgow at 7.30pm. The subjects to far are:

FEB. 7th – 'Nationalism'
FEB. 21st – 'Fight to live'
MAR. 7th – 'Education'

MAR. 21st – 'Anarchism and the other left'

Further details: 041 637 7300 or 338 7895.

MERAG

FEB. 26th MERAG Public Meeting – 'Arabs in Israel: Organisation and Resistance', Conway Hall, London at 7pm. Details: 01 778 9026.

KENTISH TOWN FILMS

FEB. 7th – NOT A PENNY ON THE RENT! A 1968 film about the GLC. 19th – 'The Chinese in the East' strike, and 'ARISE WORKERS' on the London docks strike and the imprisonment of the Pentonville 5.

MAR. 10th – 'CAMPAIGNING', Chilian presents fighting eviction from the church-owned and they took over to build a twenty town. And 'A HOUSEING FILM' made by Student Community Housing, this film looks at different types of homeless people and accommodation available to them and an action that can be taken against homelessness.

At North London Poly, Prince of Wales Road, London NW1, Room B8 at 5.30pm.

OXFORD LIBERTARIAN CONFERENCE ON FASCISM, RACISM & NATIONALISM

FEB. 19th/20th Papers to be presented: 'The rise of fascism in Germany and the analysis of Reich', 'The mass threat today and how it should be met'.

WRITE NOW for credentials, information on accommodation, other details, to: Richard ANA, c/o EOA Books, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK

is now functioning. If you want to hear a message from Social Science Centre, Peter Baker, AUEW, 142 Drummond Street, London NW1, for £60 + 15p postage.

WORKERS COUNCILS

by Anton Pannekoek

An English edition of this classic pamphlet from Social Revolution. Box 217, c/o 142 Drummond Street, London NW1, for £60 + 15p postage.

SOCIALIST TEACHER

out MARCH 6th Contents include Problems of 1977 'NUT Conference', 'Unofficial, official strike action', 'Black Power'.

20p from S.T. 221 Westcombe Hill, SE3.

PEOPLES NEWS SERVICE

Voluntary workers needed urgently by PMS, a non-sectarian left news and info service. No particular skills needed – just political commitment.

Peoples News Service, 142 Drummond St, London NW1.

COUNTERACT

CounterAct needs two women for a play on nursery provision and women's relationship to capitalism. Although acting/musical ability useful, commitment to women's movement and revolutionary socialism essential. £35 p.w. (touring), £31 p.w. (rehearsing). Drivers needed. Contact:

CounterAct, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1, 251 4977 or (eves) 287 5059.

Please make all cheques/P.O.s payable to 'AWA General Fund' (abroad IMO's only) and send them to: AWA, 13 Colman Street, Hull, Humberside

SOCIAL CONTRACT MUST GO UNDER

RECENT EVENTS at Leyland show the extent to which the bureaucracy of the unions, ever loyal to a Labour government dominated by the right, show their collaboration with the industrialists.

"Back to work or else!", threatens Scanlon.

"Back to work or else!", threatens the government.

"Back to work or else!", threatens the National Enterprise Board. Yet isn't this the 'left' Scanlon that the Communist Party gave its backing to not so long ago? Just as it gave its backing to Beaver Jack Jones and those other 'lefts', Wilson and Foot, in the past.

Further examples of class collaboration from union leaders can be seen in the threats to striking workers at the Times from the NATSOPA leadership; and the backdown of Geoffrey Drain (see inside) over the Scottish public service strike.

Determination

Yet in spite of all this, workers are beginning to show a determination to fight back.

The Social Contract is seriously threatened by a rising tide of anger and against redundancies workers have occupied three Pressy factories throughout the country.

A previous occupation of the Wildt Mellor Bromley factory in Leicester was called off after a threatened court injunction. This pattern is repeated in the smashing of the occupation on the Globtik Venus.

The rash of occupations throughout colleges and universities against cuts face similar threats, with an injunction and the smashing of the occupation at the London School of Economics.

Threats

The bosses are beginning to bare their fangs, with the increasing use of injunctions called for by either the right-wingers in NALGO, 'liberals' like LSE principal Dahrendorf, or strike-breaking organisations like the NAFF.

Physical dispersal of occupations are now to be seen, whether it be

hired thugs as on the Globtik Venus or police as at the LSE.

Faced with increasing militancy from workers, students and the homeless, the bosses resort to their faithful servant, the law, with the Criminal Trespass Bill being put through parliament.

This law will not only affect occupations of workplace and college, but also the thousands of people squatting throughout Britain because they cannot obtain other accommodation.

Defence

Occupations, wherever they take place, must be defended and the maximum mobilisation possible in the area must be countered against such threat, through workers, students and squatters united organisations.

Mervyn Rees has already obtained the planned deportation of Agee and Hosenball, in compliance with the CIA and the US treasury.

He is already preparing laws to further limit immigration and harass immigrants already here, in the same way as he has used the Prevention of Terrorism Act to harass the Irish working class community, with arbitrary arrests and deportations. Many of these people had nothing to do with the IRA but happened to be militant at their place of work.

All out!

In the face of all these attacks on the meagre liberties obtained by the working class (and only then through years of struggle), it becomes more and more important to fight against low wages and for equal pay; against unemployment and the cuts; against the Criminal Trespass Law, the Immigration Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

One way in which rank and file organisations can be built up is by building for the national day of strike action called by the Liaison Committee in defence of Trade Unions this April 19th, to fight against the Social Contract for free collective bargaining.



Workers occupy at Massey Ferguson. The Labour government is trying to outlaw actions like these with the Criminal Trespass Law now going through Parliament.

Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

Anarchist Worker

56 BRITISH LEYLAND workers in Horsepath, Oxford, have been out for several weeks – not the most spectacular of the recent stoppages but showing just how much rules and laws are bent to suit the bosses convenience unless they are forced to see the workers side.

It was customary for the parts selectors and other workers involved to be given a certain number of hours overtime in the shape of specific jobs.

If these jobs took less time than expected, the men could leave when they were completed without clocking off – after all a job is worth as much if it takes a little longer or shorter to do.

But in December the management started asking men to start other jobs if they finished those allocated before the time allowed was up.

Apart from anything else, this would have been depriving other workers from their chances of overtime.

When they refused, they lost the pay for that afternoon – pay for work they had already done.

After two weeks strike the management admitted that they had been wrong over the afternoon.

The men were told that they were not to be paid for that afternoon – pay for work they had already done.

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be twice the amount but they would get no more pay.

So the workers are still out, and other sections laid off as a result. And here's the other thing.

Men laid off were asked to do the work of the strikers which of course they refused to do.

They were then told that meant they had refused jobs offered and so were not entitled to supplementary benefit.

Others not excluded by this meant have been deprived by the Social Security, after phoning the British Leyland management, telling them men that they could not claim because they were in the same trade group as the strikers.

Another of the problems of this dispute and many of the others in Leyland is its isolation.

The workforce are split up into many bargaining units, jealous of differentials, not always in the know and not always sympathetic there-

for the noise, strain and often danger.

On the other hand, skilled workers didn't have to make up training years on low pay.

But in any case, the car workers wages wouldn't be spent on anything better if they did accept cuts; the

money would be spent on repaying IMF loans for installing more machinery in British Leyland so that more men could be made redundant.

Or on a payment to shareholders. They must be the ones getting the money from the sale of Rover 3,000 cars, they couldn't afford them otherwise.

Better communications between sections, and a realisation that all the workers interests are closely inter-linked, that a wage demand does not have to be excused by pointing to another and screaming 'differential' are needed.

But the links must be built up from rank and file level – for example the revival of the joint shop stewards at Cowley – not imposed as part of increasing the smooth running and efficiency, ie exploit-



Longbridge toolmakers shop stewards leaving the meeting that decided to return to work.

Photo: John Burncock (Hesport)

simpler and enable protests to be more readily suppressed.

Gruelling

Some readers, and certainly other members of the public, may say that car workers are overpaid already

This argument would have some sense to it if such critics went on to suggest ways of making assembly line work less gruelling, or improving apprentices pay so that on the one

hand workers on the line wouldn't need so much to compensate them for the noise, strain and often danger.

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ation by management. After a comparatively quiet time, recent events – most notably the Longbridge protest against the social contract – indicate that car workers may be beginning to see through the promises of prosperity resulting from greater productivity.

Most readers of *Anarchist Worker* probably realise that already and that increasing the number of motor cars doesn't do us much good.

It is a hopeful sign if car workers don't preface wage or other claims by saying that their conditions should be improved to make the production of cars go better, but instead imply that there is no point at all in making cars if they have to make sacrifices and suffer worse pay and work conditions.

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BIRMINGHAM – British Leyland Longbridge workers demonstrate against the social contract. Photo: Dave Evans (FPL)

They refused to pay the men for the time they were out at the usual 80% rate for stoppages where the men involved are not 'in the wrong'.

By agreeing to pay for the afternoon's work the company had tacitly admitted their responsibility for the stoppage.

Sting

The management is also expecting the backlog of orders to be cleared in normal work time – each job will

fore when they lose time because of a dispute in another section.

The management makes best use of the situation playing one section off against another – until it suits them to lump workers in one trade group to do them out of SE.

It seems obvious to suggest trying to lessen the number of unions and sections involved – until you realise management are also calling for this.

It would make control by the union bureaucracy over the shop stewards and rank and file much

When they came down they were beaten up and then dispersed to other prisons to prevent the true story leaking out.

In 1969, the Home Office appointed an inquiry into the protests at Parkhurst Prison. The findings of the inquiry were never published.

On September 16, 1976, the Home Office announced an inquiry into the Hull protest. It's likely to go the same way as the Parkhurst inquiry.

Already at least 180 prisoners have lost many days loss of remission and privileges.

Jake Prescott, who was sentenced for alleged involvement with the

STRIKE at LEYLAND

Riot aftermath

PRISONERS have been harassed and beaten up by screws and solitary confinement has been widespread, following the riot at Hull goal last September (see eye witness account *Anarchist Worker* October 78).

As early as November 1975, organisations outside – PROP (prisoners rights movement) RAP (radical alternatives to prison) and UPAL (up against the Law) – knew that conditions in Hull were acute, and were leading to confrontation.

When a prisoner was beaten up in the segregation unit, about 100 prisoners went there and demanded to see him, the Governor refused. The prisoners rioted.

They came across files on each of them which showed that all they had been told about the authorities 'working for your good' was false. To make 'hell' protest public they took to the roof and stayed there as long as they could.

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Angry Brigades in 1975 received 700 days loss of remission and 8 months loss of privileges, while Blackie Saxton got 720 days loss of remission and 252 days of lost privileges. There are just some of the more severe sentences handed out.

PROP has demanded a public inquiry into the Hull prison conditions.

It has just begun producing a bi-monthly newspaper called PROPI (it contains 7 prisoners accounts of the riots, as well as an obituary of the Irish Republican and socialist Noel Jenkinson, who died last year in prison, articles on George Jackson and how class society makes all prisoners political prisoners).

Well worth a read – 10p + postage or £1 p.a. post free from 10 Montrose St., Hull or 32A Park Road, London SW19 2HT.

"GOD SAVES THE QUEEN!" – but he doesn't pay the bill! – is one of several stickers available from the Movement Against A Monarchy c/o 5 Calabrian Rd., London N11. Send a s.a.e for details.

ON FEBRUARY 25th the bill sponsored by Turp Bonyon was passed at a second reading. This Bill, severely restricting legal abortion, is a national demonstration on May 14.

Contact: NAC, 30 Camden Road, London NW1 01-485 4303

Conference

A LONDON Squatters Conference is to be held at the weekend of April 16/17. It is being organised in the face of the repressive criminal trespass proposals which are currently in Parliament as part 2 of the Criminal Law Bill.

The conference is being organised by a group of squatters including members of the Advisory Service for Squatters and the Squatters Action Council.

The conference has two main functions: to focus attention on the criminal trespass proposals and to arrange for them to be rejected in Parliament. Although primarily a London event, other squatters will be welcome.

It is intended that the conference should be a forum for discussion of squatter issues (ty squatters and not an open public discussion like the posters convention in May 1975 which ended in total confusion).

Not a is intended to be an academic seminar on squatters. The discussions will be practical and, hopefully, constructive.

The agenda has not been finalised but there will definitely be plenary sessions on Squatters and the Law, 'Criminal Trespass', and the 'Housing Crisis'.

Workshops that will definitely be arranged include 'Tass Squads', 'Squatters and the Law', 'Licence and Housing Cooperatives', 'Squaring and the media', 'Women and Squating', and 'Squating to other countries'.

Other suggestions are still being examined. The second day of the conference will be devoted to discussing how squatters should organise both internally and to fight the criminal trespass proposals.

People with ideas on how to submit papers to the conference organisers c/o 2 St Pauls Road, London NW1 so that they can be circulated before the conference. (Deadline April 5)

The conference venue is the Jackson Lavin Community Centre, Archway Road, London N6. The Centre is right opposite Highgate tube station.

The conference is planned to run from 10.00 each day with a benefit dance on Saturday night.

Entrance to the conference will be 50p. There will be food and a canteen.

For further information, call 289 2878, 358 8185 or 286 4462, or write to Squatters Conference, c/o 2 St Pauls Rd., London N1.

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Anarchist Worker

The fight for workers' power in Spain - centre pages

July 1977 Number 35

10p

For a workers' solution to the crisis!

BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

CUTS MUST BE FOUGHT

IN MAY the AWA National Conference took place. One of the most important debates was around our experience of the last six months in the fight against the redundancies and cuts in public spending that the Social Contract has brought.

Time and again it was pointed out that once working people accepted any blame for the present crisis of the private profit system, their fight against any particular cut in jobs, housing, schools, hospitals was hamstringed because they were led into an argument about what to cut. The experience of AWA members reaffirmed that it was right to take the clear stand that working people are not responsible for the crisis and that we are not going to pay for it.

One of the key areas that we felt it important to put a lot of work into is the question of the 'social wage'. That is all the benefits paid for by our taxes - from housing, to schools, to hospitals etc. etc. In this area the cuts are much more difficult to fight - than when they show as redundancies and smaller wage packets.

We think they are important because they are about the whole quality of life in a way that goes beyond the necessary fight for a decent wage. They are about the rights that working people have fought for together - decent housing, education, health. It's more difficult to get a fight going against these social wage cuts but it poses directly the question of the sort of society we want, who makes the decisions about it, and how do we get it? A start has already been made in some areas, we'll report progress.

The AWA passed the following motion as the basis for organising to oppose the cuts, to reverse them, and to lead a fight to improve the quality of life for working people, by the action of working people themselves.

PUBLIC SERVICES in this country - health, education, social security - have been secured by working people through many hard years of struggle.

Now these services have come under vicious and widespread attack from the employing class. The slump forces them to exert pressure to axe expenditure in the public services.

What has to be realised, and realised by the majority of working people in this country, is that any attack on these services - the reduction of personnel levels and closure of schools, hospitals, our parent clubs etc. - is an attack on our pockets.

Working-class access to health, education and to financial assistance in times of unemployment and hardship are part of a 'social wage'.

This 'social wage' is being taken away at the same time as the ordinary wage is being reduced through price rises.

A realisation of the 'social wage' must lead to increased opposition to the cuts. This fight back involves the creation of cuts committees and the unity of public service workers and all those who use these services.

In the public sector itself, the unity of those who work it must be hammered out.

This involves a hard struggle against sectional interests and divisions in the workforce - between junior doctors, nurses and hospital ancillary workers, between teachers and school ancillary staff, between librarians and civil servants - in the various government departments, between members of NUPE, NALGO, CPSA, CONSE and other unions which have members among public service workers.

Such a public sector alliance is necessary to destroy these sectional divisions and because by themselves each group of public sector workers has little industrial muscle and even less militant experience (dustmen being an obvious exception).

Unity of public sector workers can present one face to the social contract, to redundancies and closures, and to outside contracts on



80,000 people demonstrated against the cuts in public services in May. Now an alliance must be built between public sector workers. Photo Andrew Ward (Report)

such things as cleaning and wage delivery.

A study of militancy in the National Union of Teachers, for example, reveals that every successfully fought wage struggle took place in the shadow of strikes of other workers in the public sector and other industries. Teachers were able to win a wage increase when other sections of workers were in the field.

The battle to protect the social wage and to fight cuts best can be fought through a public sector alliance, and this battle itself can create a public sector alliance.

It's up to revolutionaries in the public sector to begin the work of building just such a public sector, by raising the subject in their workplace and union branch, and

through the pages of the left press (Socialist Challenge, Socialist Worker, Big Flame etc.).

The demand for a public sector alliance can be an area where revolutionaries and trade union militants, all those in the public sector willing to fight cut cuts and the social contract, can get together.

When strike action comes for better wages and conditions, and against the destruction of the public sector, it should be if possible a united action of different sections.

Overtime bans, a sliding scale of wages, a sliding scale of public expenditure (to maintain wages and services at their real money value) are all demands that can build and strengthen a public sector alliance and begin a process of increasing

control over the public sector by workers.

Opening the books of Area Health Authorities, Local Education Authorities to the inspection of trade unionists, parent teacher associations, cuts committees and so forth is something the public sector alliance can fight for, to determine allocation of funds and to increase the say and control of workers and users of the public sector.

The building of the public sector alliance will be a long and difficult task, yet it will be a major weapon of working people in saving services. At the same time it can create a

movement towards a public service under the control of the broad mass of the people - a workers' health service, a workers' education system. EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

MOTION AT AWA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The AWA commits itself to working for a Public Sector Alliance. The elements of the programme we will fight for in establishing such an alliance will include: REVERSE THE CUTS - we will fight for the greatest cut in social services to pose the question of the necessary levels of service

NO REDUNDANCIES, WORKSHARING ON FULL PAY (A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS)

TO COMBAT UNEMPLOYMENT - A BAN ON OVERTIME, WITH THE NECESSARY APPROPRIATE METHOD WITH NO LOSS OF OVERTIME. A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE. TOTAL OPPOSITION TO THE SOCIAL CONTRACT. A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES.

OPEN THE BOOKS OF LEAH AND AWA TO THE INSPECTION OF TRADE UNIONISTS, PTAs, COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS etc.

A SLIDING SCALE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE - to maintain the level of services at their real money value. A TOTAL BAN ON OUTSIDE CONTRACTS. FOR PERMANENT, DELEGATE, LIAISON BODIES TO COORDINATE

ALL PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS - we will fight to make these democratic and to link them to community organisations

FOR UNITED STRIKE ACTION, AND ALL OTHER APPROPRIATE METHODS AGAINST THE CUTS - we will expose the false nature of the 'opposition' from the TU leadership. To this end we will support any work in this direction by Nalga Action and other democratic rank and file bodies.

SMASH THE SOCIAL CONTRACT- BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

Trade union bureaucrats to the rescue!

THERE IS probably only one thing that can now save the Government and ensure the acceptance of a third phase of wage restraint — the Trade Union Bureaucracy. By this I don't just mean the full time officials but also the many elected officials at local, regional and national level.

In most unions constitutional machinery exists to consult the membership but this may be easily ignored by unwilling officials. Only those unions with a clear rule or policy on consultation are guaranteed a say although the full-timers can still hamper fair consultation by allowing insufficient time or deliberately choosing a badly worded proposal.

Other unions will have to rely on the integrity of Branch officials. Many of these, particularly in my own union, are right-wing Labour, or worse, and think that the members are of the same persuasion ("After all, they elected me to represent them"), and that there is no need to consult them.

On the other hand are the "left-wing officials, often in the Communist Party or the 'Militant' or 'Tribune' factions of the Labour Party. These people tend to have the view, developed through years of paranoia, that the members are reactionary and it is safest not to ask them in the first place ("After all, they elected me to represent them").

Vociferous

The only advice that I can offer these beings is either to listen to what their members are saying or to block their ears to all sound, depending on whether or not they want to suffer a massive shock to their particular view of the world.

From my personal experience I can say that members in previously non-militant and even conservative areas are being most vociferous about the damage done by the social contract, which in their minds means wage restraint. Indeed it means this to all of us because we've only ever seen one side of the contract in operation.

Whatever happened to the houses,

schools and hospitals that were going to be built?

Whatever happened to the jobs that would be created to reduce the number of unemployed?

Whatever happened to the regeneration of British industry? These could have been the sop that would have maintained people's belief in the existing order of things.

A sop, of course, that neither social democracy nor capitalism could provide.

Cherished

At present people are looking at things from a personal, almost selfless point of view. They want more money and are therefore bound to oppose any more wage restraint. But they find themselves in opposition to the cherished existing order and are not sure which way to turn.

As an electorate people tend to vote to "the other lot" but, on this occasion, too many remember the wage freeze of the Tories.

As class-conscious militants we must argue the necessity for the working class, for ourselves, to organize. We must strive for a united attack against wage restraint and an end to all "social contracts". Only by demonstrating rank and file solidarity in action can we hope to build an opposition to both private and state capitalism. Nothing else is acceptable.

Jimmy Beaumont.

There are many pitfalls ahead for the working class on the wages front, even if the Social Contract is decisively rejected.

The major of these is the issue of differentials. Some unions representing relatively better paid sections of workers are opposing the Social Contract on the grounds that it closes the gap between them and the lower paid.

These divisive ideas can only weaken the workers' movement in its fight for better wages. It is vital for militants to fight for demands that don't aim to improve the lot of one worker at the expense of others, but for those that can unite all sections around demands that take the whole movement forward.

All sections of workers need to fight for wage rises, but not as 'special cases' or to 'maintain their positions in the wages league'.

KITTY
A slightly smaller pitfall is that of 'kitty bargaining'.

The idea is that a fixed amount is allotted to individual firms for wage increases, and negotiations take place over the proportion that goes to different groups of workers within the firm.

This would clearly suit the bosses down to the ground, since it leaves workers fighting among themselves over how to divide the increase, rather

THE VIRTUALLY unanimous rejection of any continued wage controls at the Brighton conference of the 650,000 strong National Union of Public Employees is a clear pointer to public sector workers' feelings on the Social Contract.

They voted in a motion that condemned pay restraint, demanded a basic minimum of £50, a 35-hour week, and a return to index-linked threshold payments.

Anger was expressed by many delegates over the dramatic fall in the buying power of their wages since the Social Contract came into force.

Denounce

Many sections of workers are firmly opposing any extension of the contract, denouncing it as a massive fraud.

Wage rises have been halted while prices, supposed to have been restrained, have kept ahead and expenditure on public services such as education and health has been slashed.

It is now staring working people in the face that the Social Contract is a big lie. Instead of spreading the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of both bosses and workers, as it was claimed, it would do by holding back prices as well as wages, and maintaining the levels of public services, the working class has been forced to bear the full brunt of the results of the crisis.

Declare

It is clear that by the time negotiations are under way to replace Phase 2, due to end in August, many major groups of workers including the miners and engineers as well as NUPE, will have declared their opposition to it.

Whether the union leaders will oppose it or not is another matter, as Alan Fisher, NUPE General Secretary, made clear at Brighton.

He said after the conference that despite the clear vote against wage controls he would continue to negotiate with the government over the terms of Phase 3.

Pitfalls

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Cuts mean that this newly-completed extension to St James Hospital, Portsmouth, will never be used. Photo Andrew Ward (Report)

CPSA to take action?

One basic fact has made itself obvious to the leadership of the Civil & Public Services Association (CPSA) — that opposition to public expenditure cuts can only be successful if the rank and file themselves take disciplined, co-ordinated action. A complete lack of information, a series of disastrous regional meetings and finally the withdrawal of industrial action in the face of management threats left even the committed feeling dejected.

Pressure

Because of pressure from Branches the union has, however, been moving towards joint action with other unions and tentative steps are being made towards forming a Public Sector Alliance. But the members of all public sector unions, including industrial unions with members in the public services, must ensure that such an Alliance does not become a bureaucratic appendage of the union hierarchy or the TUC.

We have too often experienced directives contrary to the interests of the membership being accepted because they are "official". We must dedicate ourselves to building a genuinely democratic Alliance which will have the trust and respect of the members because they have set it up and extended cooperation over whom they have control.

At CPSA Annual Conference 1977 the following motion from the South West London Branch of DHSS was overwhelmingly carried: "Conference agrees that the only method of successfully opposing the Public Expenditure Cuts is by employing wide-scale industrial action in the Public Sector. Conference therefore agrees to the following index card action campaign: i) A complete ban on all overtime that masks staffing deficiencies. ii) A complete ban on any work-sharing that causes present job vacancies not to be filled. iii) A series of selective and National days of action in conjunction with other Public Sector trade unions."

This motion was composed with fifteen different motions from nine different government departments including one, from the Department of Employment — Manchester, which called for "an alliance with Committees of local public sector union branches under the control of elected 'grass roots' members". This attitude must be extended throughout the labour movement for the presence of rank and file democrats means that there is now a genuine opportunity for the working class to begin to control their own lives.

Arthur Adams.

than fighting the boss over the size of the increase itself.

If they succeeded in introducing this system it would clearly damage unity between different groups of workers and generate intense sectionalism.

These divisive ideas can only weaken the workers' movement in its fight for better wages. It is vital for militants to fight for demands that don't aim to improve the lot of one worker at the expense of others, but for those that can unite all sections around demands that take the whole movement forward.

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Alan Fisher speaking at the May demonstration against the cuts organised by NUPE. He is trying to stop the cuts or halt the fight-back! Photo Andrew Ward (Report)

At the first 1977 AWA National Conference, two opposed groups continued to pursue their different roads, two roads that did not, unfortunately, run parallel but in totally opposite directions.

Readers of Anarchist Worker may not have detected this internal struggle, or even if they have done so, will not have been aware of the damage that was being done to all comrades in the organisation.

One group concealed prior to the Conference that, should their proposals and policies be in the minority, they would leave the AWA.

In the event they were the majority group and therefore felt that it was a point of principle for the other group to withdraw. This was decided.

Because of the strife that existed within the organisation and because the organisation could not proceed with agreed policies while there was a group committed to preparing this motion was passed expelling this group.

The decision was not taken lightly and many comrades felt reluctant to take a decision that went against their long-held libertarian beliefs. Nevertheless, such action was necessary to ensure the continuation of a viable libertarian communist presence within the labour movement.

We extend our best wishes to our former comrades and wish them success in such constructive work as they may be undertaking.

The above was written by Arthur Adams who took an independent position at Conference in relation to the two groupings but who felt, as a committed trade union activist that the organisational policies advanced at Conference were correct at this time of attack on the labour movement and the working class by the international capitalist conspiracy, bureaucratic trade union leadership and capitalist Labour politicians.

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Birmingham conference of the Socialist Students Alliance
Photo Stuart Paul (Socialist Students)

Students forge alliance

APPROXIMATELY 130 student militants from all over the country gathered in Birmingham Polytechnic on the weekend of April 30th for the first national and founding conference of the Socialist Students Alliance. This alliance is based round the following objectives:

1. To fight for unity in the NUS of those forces on the left who want to win the mass of students to an alternative socialist perspective to that of the present Broad Left leaders and combat the growth of right-wing influences amongst students.
2. To build a mass united NUS linked in action to the mass organisations of the working class and other oppressed people in society.
3. To base left unity on joint initiatives, in the campaigns around the key issues facing students, in the union's national structures and conferences and in the electoral field at all levels.

After a delay due to late arrival of participants the conference commenced on the Saturday at 10.00am with an opening speech from Tariq Ali on racism and fascism. He sketched the threat from fascism to the left, the National Front and the National Party — a threat which will continue to grow as the capitalist economic crisis worsens.

The way forward in this crucial fight was through a united front of all forces on the left involved in anti-fascist work and not by sectarian attitudes and initiatives.

On the following day this feeling was formulated in a successful motion to conference (by comrades in the Liberts) which urged all SSA students to work within united front anti-fascist committees and to take an initiative in their formation where no such body exists.

Broad Left

Later on Saturday afternoon Charles Clarke, this year's outgoing National Union of Students President gave a short speech on the Broad Left's perspective and suggested that the SSA should cooperate with this grouping of which Clarke is a member. For eight years now the Broad Left (an alliance between the Labourites and Communists in the student movement) have dominated NUS and the mass of individual student unions.

Because of their reformist policies they have totally failed to mount effective defensive campaigns against the government's vicious attacks on the living standards of students and the working class as a whole.

Indeed they have often acted in a counter-productive fashion in order to keep a face of 'respectability'. For example in last summer's enthusiastic upsurge of occupations against teacher unemployment they failed in their function of coordination by not building links with militant teachers and demanding that the NUT implement its own policy of limiting class sizes to 30.

This measure would have created thousands of jobs for unemployed teachers. But the Broad Left are incapable of taking any action that will alienate it from the trade union bureaucracy.

sweat and resources into united fronts for increased efficiency.

As well as discussions on women and Ireland and various resolutions presented to the conference the following day was designed to allow discussion on the SSA programme and internal structure.

Crippling

Perhaps this was the weakest part of the whole conference since the discussion on both these vital issues was totally inadequate because of the crippling lack of time. It was rather hurriedly agreed that the national conference should elect annually a steering committee of six plus the SSA members of NUS executive (of which there are at present two — Lewis Davis and Colin Talbot). In addition, a further ten people should be elected who, together with the Steering Committee should form a National Committee. The emphasis of the Steering Committee will be more practical, dealing with the day to day working of the SSA and the production of the paper 'Socialist Student'.

The National Conference will meet between conference to oversee the work of the Steering Committee and when necessary take interim measures on behalf of the SSA (e.g. campaigns) although of course such measures would need to be ratified at the next national conference.

Elections then took place in which members of the libertarian current were placed on the National Committee. One of them saw their right of initiative remained firmly in the hands of the SSA and did not drift into the National Committee and then the Steering Committee".

Forward

Discussion on the SSA programme did not take place at all due to lack of time. Many comrades expressed dissatisfaction over this and most others agreed that this had been the major flaw in the conference which would have to be rectified in the national conference in October.

In accordance with this priority was given to a thorough discussion of internal structure and the SSA programme at this next conference. Despite its shortcomings, this conference represented a step in the right direction — towards united front work in the revolutionary left.

However, it is not at conferences that the SSA will prove itself capable of fighting capitalist attacks and organising the student body to a revolutionary perspective, but through the work of its active militants in the unions and its active allies in the N.C.C.

In the Saturday evening session interesting discussions arose from contributions on the subject of working class strategy by shopfloor stewards. Again the theme was the necessity for unity among the revolutionary left.

All the speakers noted that movements were at last taking place within the body of the working class after years of apathetic slumber caused by the drug of social democracy.

Capitalism is failing to deliver the goods either in providing a sufficient and secure material standard of life or in creating the conditions necessary to allow the emotional fulfillment and happiness of the mass of people. The break with social democracy, the Labour Party and indeed the trade union bureaucracy is developing.

For example thousands of workers recently shouted down Jack Jones with chants of 'Jack the Rat' and 'go home you bum!' for his involvement in the Social Contract.

It is at this critical point that revolutionary left organisations must urge their militants to redouble their efforts in carrying revolutionary perspectives into the class. But the revolutionary left is weak and it is in such circumstances that there is a compelling necessity to combine

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK

THE FOURTH conference of the Libertarian Students Network took place on the weekend of March 18/19 at the North East London Polytechnic, at that time in occupation against the Labour government's cuts in education and the social services.

Scheduling the conference for this weekend created a disruptive clash with the Campaign Against the Criminal Trespass Law demonstration on the Saturday. Most people went on this, and the conference finally got under way, with about forty people present, on Sunday 19.

Conference commenced with a stormy discussion on what strategy and principles the L.S.N. should adopt — an important question which had remained unresolved despite the attempts of the three prior conferences to come to some agreement.

A set of proposals written from a firmly libertarian communist viewpoint was discussed in relation to this issue. The proposals described the libertarian movement in this country as existing in "a state of chronic suspension" largely due to "a lack of self-discipline and organisation." Emphasised was the need to build an organised libertarian communist current within the student movement and the class as a whole.

To achieve this, discussion would need to take place among militant libertarians with the view of working towards a common theoretical base, and the forging of a common tactical line which would give the movement a strong and unified direction. Practical measures designed to achieve these objectives were outlined in the proposals.

Decay

Traditional anarchists attacked these proposals as a betrayal of anarchist principles and claimed that small, local, autonomous groups should be doing what they felt to be important in their own time, and only use the L.S.N. to exchange ideas and information, and where possible to co-operate.

All the speakers noted that movements were at last taking place within the body of the working class after years of apathetic slumber caused by the drug of social democracy. Capitalism is failing to deliver the goods either in providing a sufficient and secure material standard of life or in creating the conditions necessary to allow the emotional fulfillment and happiness of the mass of people. The break with social democracy, the Labour Party and indeed the trade union bureaucracy is developing.

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stances in the concepts and forms of organisation of the feminist and the traditional anarchist movement. Both believe in small, informal, completely autonomous groupings, involving themselves only in local issues.

With respect, we believe that the anarchism the feminist movement has with traditional anarchism represent a weakness and not a strength. Why try to justify this low stage of organisational development by sticking it out in ideological clothing? We hope that such a move is only a tributary one as the class at present divided and confused, comes to recognise the need for organisation and unity.

We hope that this unity will develop around a common programme which will aim at confrontation with capitalism, and it's revolutionary overthrow, and the establishment of a libertarian communist society.

United Front

Perhaps the most optimistic and promising development from the conference was the formation of a group of militant libertarians who are in favour of organising and working as a libertarian current within the newly formed Socialist Students Alliance (S.S.A.).

Although an I.M.C. initiative, this alliance offers all revolutionary a chance to form a united front. A united front against the Broad Left, an alliance of Labourites and Communist which has dominated the N.U.S. for the last eight years, and so often betrayed student

A united front against the bourgeois educational system, its inherent class bias, sexism and racism, and when linked with other groups, could be a source of a united front against the whole capitalist system.

Future

It was noted that this move to work within the S.S.A. would bring libertarianism out of the "twilight zone", and into the real world of political struggle.

If efforts are made to create a sound libertarian communist current within the student movement, by example, discussion, while fighting alongside other revolutionary comrades for common objectives.

This libertarian current is now working at creating a 'platform' to use as a developing theoretical base and as a source of correct practice.

The A.W.A., using all its student members, contacts and sympathies to work within the S.S.A. for a united revolutionary front and the creation of a libertarian communist current.

For Higgs

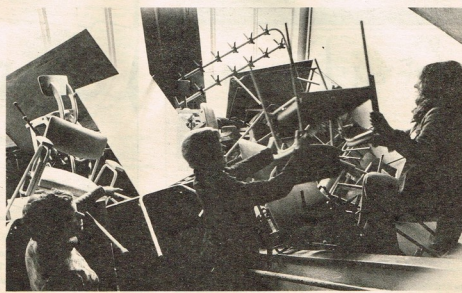
On information on the S.S.A. contact:

Andy Houldry
4 Westmore Rd.
Edgware
Birmingham 15

Tel.: 021 654 2000.

For information on the libertarian current contact the secretary:

Al Micklethwaite
21 Halesfield
Manchester 13
Tel.: 061 224 3028.



Students occupy Middlesex Polytechnic (in Report)

The world anarchist press and some of the 'classy' bosses papers have been heralding the news that in Spain, after 40 years of fascism, the anarchist trade union the National Labour Confederation (CNT) is rising like a meteor.

On Sunday March 27 there were two rallies in Madrid. One was the legal meeting of the Socialist Party (Labourist) etc. This meeting was supported by all the Parties of the left—socialists, trotskysts, communists etc. The other was organised by the CNT and was illegal. According to reports they both attracted something like numbers, 25-30,000 people.

This is significant because Madrid itself was never a very strong area for the CNT. Accompanying this news are a series of uncritical comments—as if the rise of the CNT evokes the relevance of most of the rest of the world anarchist movement. Because the CNT is used as a moral justification for their own existence anarchists are usually careful not to criticise the CNT (see reports in Freedom).

The worst response is a deliberate distortion of history to make the CNT look even better—the most recent *Dead Flag* has an article which asks 'how few know that the Francists were initially beaten in Spain by the workers of the CNT' union, who went on to join a workers militia on the front while collectivising into anarcho-syndicalist locals the industry and agriculture of Catalonia and Aragon, only to be stabbed in the back by Liberal-Communist republican regime in Madrid?

The answer to this long rhetorical question is that damned few know this, because it's only half true. The failure of the Spanish Revolution in 1936-7 is due as much to the weakness of the CNT as

The Spanish CNT is an illegal organisation, banned since General Franco seized power. Even so, it has 20,000 paid up members, according to sources inside Spain, and figures published in *Front Liberator*.

Having successfully participated in strikes at Rosa (see last A/W), Ford's, in the construction industry and having made limited progress in organising probationary teachers in their probationary years, it has now decided to become more public. This is in the face of likely arrests and violence from the far Right.

Their paper is now printed in Spain—it is used to be printed in France and taken across the border back into Spain—and sells 40,000 copies per month. A publishing house has been started called 'Campo Abierto' or 'Open Pastures'. It is bringing out a series of pamphlets and books.

to the machinations of the liberals and socialists. If a boxer said that he'd lost because the man that he began was his opponent and his team this wouldn't tell us much about the fight, and it wouldn't be much guidance to those of us having to fight the same enemy.

Weak link

The history of Spain's working class isn't of interest only to anarchists and the libertarian communist currents (leaving the anarchist movement behind). Spain is today the weak link in European capitalism. The fight for workers power in Spain opens up the prospect of a resurgence in Portugal, enormous stresses in Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and France. A genuine workers power would strip



CNT international relations worker Jose E.

Student militant and CNT member Angeles R.



Steel union National Committee member CNT militant since 1934—Pedro B.

and the factories seized and recognised by the workers. (See the new book *Portugal: The impossible Revolution* by Phil Meier, £2.25 from Solidarity, 123 Latham Road, London E6).

For this reason we look at this history of previous fights to judge the problems of coming battles. Our criticisms of the CNT of forty years ago are made to strengthen the CNT of today, to educate the international libertarian communist movement for its future victories.

This cooperation in interparliamentary led quite naturally to the participation of the CNT leadership in the reconstituted government of the Republic (Ibarruri, and Commales). They were really just hostages by the time but they did provide a 'left' cover to the dismantling of the gains made by the working class in Aragon and Catalonia.

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Revolution

1. The military rising of July 1936 against the left-liberal Spanish Republic was defeated by the action of the working class in large areas of Spain. Unarmed or poorly armed the workers of the CNT and

Q. Isn't it possible that the anarchist movement may be reborn?

A. No, it is finished, as is the case everywhere that is an irreversible fact. Small groups may continue to exist, like those in Barcelona...

From 'Dialogue on Spain', interviews with Santiago Carrillo, leader of the Spanish Communist Party. Published by Lawrence and Wishart: paperback £2.

Carrillo deliberately distorts history and present events in this book. Unfortunately for this unscrupulous hack, who is now struggling up to the government, and whose party contributed greatly towards the defeat and massacre of the working class in the Civil War, events have proved him wrong. Events too, it is hoped, will sweep the Spanish Communist Party off the field of struggle between the bosses and the working people.

the UGT (socialist trade union) stormed barracks, police stations, and other centres of the conspiracy whilst the government hesitated to negotiate an 'honourable settlement' with the rebel generals. This left the working class itself as the main force in the North and East of Spain. Prepared for the years of struggle, argument and discussion, the working class created a self-managed socialist society in vast country areas and free modern cities. The CNT leadership played no direct role in this—it all came from the base.

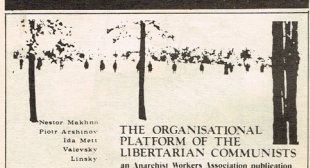
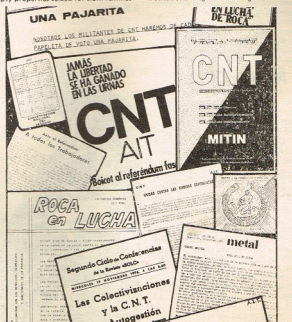
2. The CNT itself played a key role in institutionalising and despoiling this

the last dispute from the state capitalist regime in Russia and Eastern Europe. It would leave the western CP, who at the moment oscillate between being the Leagues of Russian Empire Loyalties and giving their services to their native rulers, high and dry.

Spain is once again the key as it was forty years ago. The problems in Spain—how to make the revolution, how to safeguard it, the dangers of the state capitalist parties destroying the revolution from within—aren't all the same. This has been proved by the events of the last two years in Spain and the collapse of fascism unleashed a tide of working-class initiative, factories, farms, housing, transport in every field the working class began to create a society of producers, of equals. Around all this the various forces of 'order' strove to reestablish the power of Capital.

The socialists under Solms with the

aid of European Labour Parties and CIA money fought to rebuild liberal democratic capitalism. The Communist Party under Cunhal fought to build a state capitalist regime. Both attacked workers' initiatives when they felt strong enough, infiltrated and co-opted it at other points. In Portugal today the situation is still undecided. Despite the fact that most of the 'revolutionary' groups spent more time backing the Socialist Party than the Communist Party manoeuvres, the working class itself made giant steps towards a self-managed socialist society and is still fighting a tenacious rearguard action to hold onto the collectivised lands, the empty properties seized for them by the



The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists was written by a group of anarchists who had participated in the Russian revolution and the ensuing civil war. They attempted to communicate their experiences and what they had learnt to the international anarchist movement, stressing the need for disciplined anarchist organisation, built on and relating to the working class. The Platform was severely attacked by the anarchist 'celebrities' almost without exception, who saw the formation of a structured anarchist organisation as a threat to the inalienable rights of the individual. This historical document has been rediscovered, and has been instrumental in the development of organised class anarchism in the 1970s. To obtain a copy, send a cheque/PO for 20p + 7p p&p made out to 'AWA General Fund' to: AWA, 13 Colman Street, Hull, Humberside.

AWA gives critical but friendly reserving the right to criticise AWA's opinion the pages of its anarcho-journalism.

movement. It agreed to set up 'revolutionary committees' which were made up of representatives of the parties and the union hierarchies. These were not democratic organs of workers power, which are always based on the factories and streets that the working class lives in, electing delegates and mandating them.

These committees were inter-parliaments. In one area where the CP represented nothing at all, the CNT would give them some seats in the hope that in another area the CP would return the favour.

3. The CNT accepted the CP and Liberal left arguments that 'first we defeat the revolt then we can create a better society'. This led to the republican capitalist parties taking part in the committees. It played the dismantling of those areas of socialism that had been created. Usually the CP tried to hit harder men, the CNT kept quiet and counselled 'moderation'—all this to please their liberal allies in the Republic and so as not to 'shock' foreign governments.

4. This cooperation in interparliamentary led quite naturally to the participation of the CNT leadership in the reconstituted government of the Republic (Ibarruri, and Commales). They were really just hostages by the time but they did provide a 'left' cover to the dismantling of the gains made by the working class in Aragon and Catalonia.

Defeat

Millions of words have been written on this tragic collapse of the CNT. The best books are *The Revolution and Civil War in Spain* by Bow and Tanning, *American Power and the New Medias* by Norman Chomsky pp 66-75; *Grand Camouflage* by Burnett Bolloten.

Some particular points that are worth studying for working-class militaries are given in Chomsky's book. He shows that the alliance with the liberals not only had a disastrous effect on the revolution, it also damaged the efforts against the fascists. Franco was using a large number of troops from Spain's Moroccan colony. The libertarian communists of the Fronts of Durutti (the 'left opposition' in the CNT) the FUL (Libertarian Youth) and the paper *Clase War* edited by veteran libertarian communist Camillo Berriani were all arguing



What's wrong with NALGO?

NALGO (The National and Local Government Officers Association) now has over 600,000 members and is Britain's 4th largest union. Despite the huge membership, little is known about Nalpo by many other trade unionists and precious little is known about Nalpo's often arcane structures and policies by its own rank and file members.

Indeed, it is only in very recent years that the "rank and file" have meant anything in Nalpo at all—for the union was certainly not founded by (or for) the average worker in local government. Nalpo is the creation of the senior or chief officers in local government. The history of the organisation is a history of transition—accelerated in the present epoch—from professional association to trade union.

To any Nalpo member of even a few years' standing the changes have been scarcely staggering. It took Nalpo nearly 50 years before it felt able, after much gibbering about "professionalism" and "getting involved with politics", to join the TUC. Since then, to the accompaniment of constant attacks from the well organised and vocal Nalpo Right Wingers, the union has developed organisational forms that begin to look like a "real" trade union.

I recall writing an article in *Tribune* in 1972, in which I used the words "—a real trade union!" under the headline "The Nalpo Revolution". That hope that Nalpo was changing fast was premature and optimistic as events have shown.

Nonetheless, Nalpo has groped and staggered its way towards becoming a major industrial force (if, as yet more in the promise than the fact) and it could yet develop as a major political force.

Nalpo is not unique among public service and white collar unions in that it organises both bosses and workers (ie., a majority of British headmasters are in the NUT) but it probably displays a greater reflection of this organisational tendency than other unions.

I can recall being a member of a Nalpo branch where, by tradition, the incumbent Town Clerk had been elected—unopposed—to be branch chairman every year of the branch's existence. The only position that the venerable gents annually assumed were prepared to concede to a radical candidate was branch representative on the Youth Hostels Association.

Masonic

It is still the case that, formally at any rate, the non-official holidays, ordinary days paying Joe and Jenny Soaps of Nalpo are allowed to attend only one general meeting a year—the branch AGM. It is here that officials are elected and the whole affair is conducted with great pomp and ceremony. It is hardly surprising that on these reverential occasions, with their Masonic atmosphere of regalia and procedure (the more inane branches still insist on the chairman wearing ribbons and medals around his neck), resolutions on such mundane matters as wages and conditions are regarded as akin to farting in church.

Radicals in Nalpo have attempted to extend the avenues of expression open to the ordinary member by using Nalpo's rule book which clearly allows for "special" general meetings to be called—usually by a stated number of signatures by members on a requisition. This, however, can be a very dangerous procedure.

Although repeated Nalpo conferences have condemned the practice, the local bureaucrats insist on those calling a general meeting putting

down a cash deposit before the meeting, which can be forfeited as the meeting decides. This has been used to deter militants.

In the Derbyshire local government, after members of the rank and file Nalpo Action Group had called a special general meeting in an attempt to stop the branch secretary using the union's communication system to circulate literature on behalf of an out and out Right Winger in the NEC elections, the meeting voted to forfeit the £5 deposit after the branch deadlock had been wheeled out to defeat the radicals.

At the succeeding AGM, packed to the roof with departmental directors and their bodies, the deposit was increased to £100. There are said to be branches where you'd have to take out a second mortgage to hold a general meeting!

Nonetheless, the habit of holding general meetings is spreading. Along with this, has gone the growth of a shop steward system. Again, this is coming into being in a very patchy and often badly organised way—but it's there. As with every advance in Nalpo's history, the development of shop stewards has been fought by the union's vociferous and numerous Right Wingers.

One of the reactions which had grabbed the most national publicity—coverage of the Daily Mail—was former NEC member John Fraser who along with other elements of the Nalpo old guard, has become involved in Colonel "Round up a few pickets." String's paramilitary GB72 and its trade union offshoot Trumid (see April AWW).

Nagging

Every month the union newspaper carries letters from members of the Fraser Kan. "Why don't we stop arguing about strikes, Chile, South Africa, abortion, etc.", write these reactionaries, "and stick to what Nalpo is supposed to be about—wages and conditions". The answer to this invidious doctrine is that the Nalpo Right has never been terribly worried about wages and conditions. However, this nagging is having a certain effect among the less politically developed Nalpo members.

In Nalpo, growth towards that "real trade union" is very much a question of two steps forward, one step back. The union has always allowed "politics", in the sense of corporate observations on public issues of the day and discreet parliamentary lobbying. Which brings us to the question of Labour Party affiliation.

Officially, the main rank and file radical group in Nalpo—the Nalpo Action Group—is committed to Nalpo Party affiliation for the union. There is a separate campaign for Nalpo affiliation to the Labour Party, which is run by lay branch activists in membership of the Labour Party and which is encouraged by the new breed of young Nalpo fulltimers who see the lack of a political dimension—such as might be available to the young thrusters of ASTMS for example—as a hindrance to their blatant careerism.

The issue of LP affiliation raises massive problems of theory and practice for the militants in the union. The prime movers of this policy in NAG were the International Marxist Group. In fairness to the many fine militants of the ISWIP in NAG, it has to be said that they and other militants were compelled to either vote for affiliation or to abstain because (a) they were, as in the case of SWP, under orders from their

central committees and (b) they were morally blackmailed by supporters of the policy, who accused them of lining up with the Right to support Nalpo's "non-political" trade unionism.

For the militants of NAG, LP affiliation is presently a black number. However, within the branches, especially the big urban ones, it will increasingly become an issue. It is something that can easily be resolved by resort to ultra-leftist slogans.

To a large extent, all the militants of the revolutionary left can do, as the Nalpo "centre" and Trotskyists such as the Militant group with sound research and theory, rather than a traditional and backward "anarchist" grouping, is necessary.

It is especially important that we do not fall back on ultra left or traditional anarchist slogans in this situation (thereby leaving ourselves open to the old Stalinist joke that the ultra left is usually to be found "objectively" lined up with the ultra right).

At general meetings, the rank and file membership can see the local bureaucrats and Nalpo's fulltimers in

active union, was that when workers discover a threat to their jobs in time, on the lowest grades, and have less job security. Recently a few have thought up by Herts hospital authorities.

When applying for jobs are given a pregnancy test—THIS CAN BE DONE WITHOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE as part of the normal medical examination. If positive she won't get the job—the normal answers to questions in interviews like 'how long do you expect to work for' obviously aren't good enough if it's a woman speaking!

Immigrants are also being used as scapegoats in the government's attempts to disguise the real causes of unemployment.

Up to the last couple of years the NHS was still advertising abroad for foreign workers.

But now applications for the renewal of work permits are being refused—workers are threatened with the sack for no other reason than the colour of their skin or country of birth.

Student nurses work on low pay to get qualifications which recognised in this country—and are then told they can't work here, despite a 'shortage of nurses' which is blamed for empty wards.

In Brent this policy was successfully challenged and a promise of a job and a permit for all who pass their exams this year obtained.

Unity

A strong link and file movement is needed to spread the work and win on issues that Drain, Fisher, Jenkins and the other TU leaders only talk about.

National activity is also essential because it is the government which is orchestrating the cuts demanded by big business and the IMF—individual Area Health Authorities can only be pushed so far.

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HEALTH WORKERS

Despite the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts women are still on the lowest grades, and have less job security. Recently a few have thought up by Herts hospital authorities.

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Anarchist Worker

THIS BATTLE MUST BE WON!

Each day that passes intensifies the need for the working class to win the battle at Grunwicks film processing factory. As we go to press, the strike is entering its 47th week. The Grunwick management, which has a long anti-trade union tradition, sacked over a 100 striking workers after they joined the union APEX.

Just as at British Home Stores, Trust House Forte and Office Cleaning Services, workers have seen how they must forever fight anew for rights that had been won over centuries of struggle.

But unlike these other disputes this year, Grunwicks has shocked the entire trade union movement through the involvement of the ultra right and the brutality of the police.

Neglect

The upper layers of the trade union bureaucracy moved into the issue from the start, an unusual event. There were two reasons for this.

Firstly, rank and file outrage at the sweatshop conditions and a determination to reverse the neglect by the TU movement of the plight of women and black workers. Secondly, trade union leaders see this as a test of the Labour government. The Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service (ACAS) set up by Labour has been flagrantly rejected by Grunwick boss George Ward. So seriously did

they take this that Len Murray made available TUC funds for APEX to carry on with this very expensive dispute. Compare that with the total inaction of the TUC at Trust House Forte and elsewhere. UPW leader Tom Jackson took the unprecedented step of selective postal boycott.

Ward has gone beyond refusing to cooperate with ACAS. He is taking ACAS to court for upholding the justice of the workers case! Since the days of the Tolpuddle martyrs, trade unions have always been victimised by the courts. Murray, Grantham and other TU leaders know what this means for them—there has not been so serious a threat to their positions since the Industrial Relations Act.

'Soft'

The ultra-right has chosen Grunwicks as the battle ground to strike a major blow against the TU movement. The National Association For Freedom (so called) stepped in early on giving "advice at a price" in the words of John Gournet. NAFF has



Police arrest Viv Heath, UCATT co-ordinator of Camden's Direct Labour department, on the first day of the postal boycott. 200 of Camden's buildings, engulfed in his arrest, joined him on the picket line later in the week. *Photo Andrew Ward (Report)*

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been the main force behind the Grunwick management. Whereas the government has forced the burden of the crisis on the working class by "soft" methods (the Social Contract), the ultra-right want to even "harder" measures against the class. To this end they are out to smash the unions. NAFF has shown its sincerity for freedom when it took out a court injunction against our UPW comrades exercising their right to support the strike, when they stopped the boycott of mail to that glorious land of freedom South Africa and through other countless court cases against trade unions. Supported by freedom fighters like reactionary MPs Rhodes Boyson and Winston Churchill, Brian Crozier, one-time manager of a CIA front organisation, and Viscount de L'Isle, who daily exercises his freedom to exploit workers, NAFF is determined to defeat even a "moderate" T. Unionist like Grantham.

Vicious

It is clear from the enthusiasm of most of the cops that they have turned their backs on their own class. Merlyn Rea's predictable support for the police methods is an indication to trade unionists that this Labour government is more concerned with keeping the police image respectable than supporting the most basic right of workers. After all, who knows when the Labour government will need a strike breaking force again, as it did against the Glasgow Duteamen?

Socialists have always said that the police and the army are instruments of ruling class power. In the case of Grunwicks there is additional evidence of physical links between police and bosses. Chief Inspector Johnson has taken up a job at Grunwicks and Robert Mark has been recently employed by Viscount de L'Isle.

Struggle

Whereas the union bureaucrats have backed down in face of the opposition, rank and file workers are rallying round the strikers.

When Grantham, scared by the power of workers on the street and wary to maintain his respectable face with the bosses and government, called for the picket to be limited to 500, the strikers' committee replied by demanding that the picket be stepped up.

After Jackson backed down from the postal boycott, the London District Council of the UPW voted for the boycott to be restarted. Despite threats from the Post Office and Jackson, that boycott continues.

The picket has been swelled by delegations from wide sections of the working class wishing to show their solidarity—miners, engineers, dockers, squatters and women's groups. The strikers must be supported more strongly than ever before. Get your union branch to donate to the



Police arrest Viv Heath, UCATT co-ordinator of Camden's Direct Labour department, on the first day of the postal boycott. 200 of Camden's buildings, engulfed in his arrest, joined him on the picket line later in the week. *Photo Andrew Ward (Report)*



movement Against A Monarchy announces the first three of a series of stickers to celebrate Jubilee year. Tastefully designed in red, white and blue (in some cases), they are available for 1p a sticker including postage—minimum order 250. The stickers—a convenient tongue-width size—are produced on high-quality impregnated gum paper. Once up they're extremely difficult to remove, rather like some of the fascist stickers. The AWA aims to encourage and catalyse anti-Jubilee activities by groups around the country—but we're not supporting a national organising group. Apart from supplying materials, our activities will be daily confined to the London area. However, we hope that similar groups elsewhere will get in touch and exchange ideas. Contact: MOVEMENT AGAINST A MONARCHY, Box "M", c/o S. Caledonian Rd., London N1. We say... 'Yes MAM, No Ma'am!



Police force back pickets to allow the scab's bus to enter the factory. In the background are Special Patrol Group 'Trenits. *Photo Andrew Ward (Report)*

strikers fund. Better still, get a delegation to the picket. Boycott all goods to and from the factory.

The history of workers' struggles show, as at Salford coke depot in 1972, that peaceful and successful pickets are only possible when the workers show their real strength.

With united forces the working class can bring Ward and his "hard" anti-working class supporters to their knees.

And with this experience of struggle and the confidence of victory that the class has lacked since it brought the Tory government down, we may turn on the "soft" anti-working class forces in the government.

Let the slogan at the picket line be our watchword:

THE WORKERS, UNITED, WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!

Ken Hartwell

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST REVIEW

Libertarian Communist Review is the theoretical journal of the AWA. The second issue, out now, contains articles on— the role of the revolutionary organisation, — tracing the development of communist thought from primitive times.

— a translation from the French on Bakunin, one of the founders of the anarchist movement, which attempts to dispel many misconceptions created by both his enemies and those who claimed to be his followers.

— and reviews. We regard the appearance of the Review as important for the development of libertarian communism.

THE LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST REVIEW

is not intended to be a magazine for mass-produced dogma. We intend to look at the history and inadequacies in the writings of the most noted libertarian socialist thinkers, and we intend to conduct a critical reappraisal of Marx and Marxist thinkers, and of the theory and praxis of left communist and movements that run parallel with the anarchist movement.

Copies of the LCR are available 20p + 7p from AWA, 13 Colman St., Hull. Bulk orders welcome.

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As profits and shares rise, we demand:

THE SOCIAL Contract is dead but its corpse still stalks the trade union movement.

The most serious danger for the movement is fragmentation which will pave the way for a massive defeat of the working class.

The threat comes from what is Phase III of the social contract in all but name—the 10% limit and the 12 month rule.

At the TUC congress in Blackpool in September there were two tendencies. Men like Murray, Jones and Scanlon, who built the old social contract, argued successfully for the 12 month rule and the 10% limit. Their opponents, led by men like Olive Jenkins, were really only united around one issue, the need to return to free collective bargaining to restore differentials. The right-wing won, largely thanks to Scanlon's total disregard for

democratic democracy in cutting the necessary down, the outlay, for the remains of the social contract, clearly going against a mandate from his own National Committee.

Already many workers have shown their contempt for the rule by ignoring it—at Heinz, Nabisco, Wilson's Brewery and elsewhere.

But there are hidden dangers in simply rejecting the rule without a clear programme of action for the movement as a whole, the dangers of allowing divisions among workers, in particular for those with weaker organisation and between public and private employees.

Contract

The Social Contract was sold to the rank and file on the understanding that unemployment would be halted and public services would not be cut out.

Instead unemployment has risen to over 1.5 million, we've had more cuts than under the Tories and real wages have fallen by over 10%.

Despite this, the TUC bureaucrats were able to seal phase II on the argument that things would have been worse otherwise.

Both times they took the bosses' side and blamed the crisis on the workers: high wages eating into profits and raising prices and high public expenditure draining investment and causing inflation.

Crisis

In Anarchist Worker October 78, we rejected all such analyses.

We said: "The crisis is not confined to Britain: it is worldwide. The falling rate of profit is a tendency built into the capitalist system."

"The capitalists own the machines and plants: they hire workers at a fraction of the value workers produce and so make their profits.

"A stage is reached where the value extracted from the worker is not large enough to invest in more machines and plants to keep up their profits.

"This stage is the crisis."

The crisis is being paid for by the working class.

Already many major companies like Parcor (which has sacked over 1,800 workers) are announcing record profits.

But the Leyland toolworkers, the Heathrow engineers and the rank and file of many unions like NUPE have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept another year of wage controls.

Scared of their own positions, the TUC bureaucrats refused a new wage limit.

Instead the new policy will allow the bosses to divide the movement and avoid paying increases necessary of living to all but a few well-insured sectors.

Struggles over differentials and 'special cases' do little to help or mobilise those sections with less fighting experience, or the lowest paid or those already on the dole.

What's more, they may well isolate such struggles and permit the bosses to alienate them from other workers.

Demands

What we must fight for are demands that will unite the entire working class.

We must fight for wages to be brought up to 1972 levels, before inflation accelerated; we are all hit by rises in food, fuel and rent.

We must fight for a minimum national wage for everybody; whether employed or not we all have the right to a human standard of living.

We must fight for a cut in the working week, with no loss of pay; force the bosses to employ more workers.

We must fight for real rises in pensions, disability payments etc. for all workers that capitalism throws onto the slagheap.

Most of all we must protect against future erosions by fighting for all these to be indexed against inflation.

Alliance

Neither will limited sectional struggles win back some of the greatest losses we have suffered—cuts in social services.

The public sector will be a major battle ground for the government. Just like the 1960's when Callaghan was treasurer, the government will tightly restrict pay rises for public workers.

At the same time the workload still increases as the cuts continue to bite. The struggle in the public sector

LESS HOURS-MORE PAY!



Jack Jones, Alex Kitson and Moss Evans confer at Blackpool TUC conference. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

is more than a struggle for the quality of life for all the working class.

This struggle will become harder with the new policy; more than ever before there is a need for an alliance in the public sector.

What we must fight for are joint committees uniting rank and file

workers from many workplaces.

Already moves have been made in this direction by for example CLASH (Committee of London Area Stewards in the Health service) but are limited.

Links must be built between all public sector workers and between them and local trade unions and

community groups.

Direct works departments must build links with tenants and squatters, health workers with women groups, NAC groups and so on.

Then we can begin to fight for a public service according to workers' needs rather than capitalist profits.

Editorial Collective.

Big Flame and IMG propose new organisations Left unity initiatives

RECENT MONTHS have seen two important unity initiatives on the Far Left in Britain. These are healthy developments. They increase the possibility of joint action, and also raise many important questions.

The International Marxist Group's paper *Red Weekly* has been enlarged and renamed *Socialist Challenge*. It now carries the by-line 'Build a Socialist Opposition. For a Unified Revolutionary Organisation'. It has raised issues for debate in the paper, expanded the letters page, and set aside certain columns from contributors from outside the IMG. Big Flame are also working for unity on the Left; they have opened their letters page to debate and promised to publish any particularly long contributions in their internal mailing. So far both groups seem to have gained some support for their proposals. The Revolutionary Marxist Current, a small non-sectarian grouping have decided to work with Big Flame for six months as a preliminary to joining them. The IMG seem to have attracted the interest of the Workers League.

Why unity?

What are the reasons for these initiatives, and on what basis do they hope for unity with other sections of the Left?

Both groups point to the practical advantages of unity, and the necessity to avoid sectarianism in what could be a crucial period of intensified class struggle. It is very true that many militants are deterred from revolutionary socialism by the alienating sectarianism and 'absolute purity' of many left groups, and also by the very existence of so many tiny left organisations.

The IMG does not believe that it has a monopoly of the truth. On the central political questions we believe that we are, in general, correct, but we still have a lot to learn both from other organisations and from the masses in struggle.

Socialist Challenge

BUILD A SOCIALIST OPPOSITION FOR A UNIFIED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION

"We are convinced that unless the far left understand the fact that internal democracy and open discussions are not a luxury, but a necessity in today's conditions, it will not be able to go very far. If it can grasp this fact and operate accordingly then the task of building a unified organisation will be facilitated a hundred fold."

"Can we accomplish these tasks on our own? We doubt it. That is why we appeal both to other socialist groups in sympathy with our two aims (i.e. building a socialist opposition and building a unified organisation) to join with us and try and take the far-left forward! (Editorial—first issue of *Socialist Challenge*).

This is the sort of statement that has led Big Flame to stress that unity is also built through action, rather than by pious hopes. This criticism is most strongly made by the Revolutionary Marxist Current.

"The IMG has called for regroupment on the simple idea that revolutionary unity is 'good', and that all revolutionaries should therefore be inside one organisation

... But this is not enough. To us it

is an abstract call for unity around a simple desire to be united. It ignores the important question, unity around what?"

"Revolutionaries can only unite if they have a shared view of what they should be doing. This can contain large differences on given issues. But they must have a common outlook on what is happening in society and how to change it. The only way to do that is around unity in action. If the left can successfully unite around joint initiatives ... such unity can be built from the bottom up." (R.M.C. in July issue of *Big Flame*.)

Perhaps not too much should be made of this criticism. The IMG do after all work well in some united front campaigns, such as the Socialist Teachers Alliance, whilst on the other hand Big Flame do of course try to win support on the basis of their policies and programme.

Leninism

There are considerable basic differences, and also similarities, between the policies of the two groups. Although the IMG stress the necessity for internal democracy, and should not be confused by libertarians with the other really hard line Trotskyist outfits such as the WRP, which are very authoritarian, they do base themselves in Leninist ideas and practice. Big Flame's attitude to Leninism is not quite so clear.

Big Flame recognises the historical validity of aspects of the Leninist model. But we are aware that it has to be reassessed in today's conditions: where the state, the ruling class and the working class are very different than in pre-war Europe. No-one has come up with a clear new model for the seizure of power under advanced capitalism precisely because there has been no successful revolution under these

conditions. We can learn from history how to avoid "riding to power on the backs of the workers" by refusing the inflated role given to the party in some traditions. We can learn from history how to avoid "riding to power on the backs of the workers" by refusing the inflated role given to the party in some traditions."

(Big Flame—June 1977)

Big Flame point to groups in Italy such as *Lotta Continua* to explain their concept of the relationship of the revolutionary organisation to the mass movement. *Socialist Challenge* has recently been carrying a series of articles which criticise the large and quite successful non-Trotskyist groupings in Italy, such as *Lotta Continua*, for lacking politics, a clear programme etc. Their alternative is of course the Fourth International comparison, but doubtless very 'political' and 'correct'. This seems to me to illustrate a real defect of the IMG, they react to problems and try to solve them at a level which causes them only to appeal to certain rather limited layers of people.

However, some recent pronouncements from the IMG, although at that rather rarified theoretical level which I object to as alienating, are of some interest to libertarians. In particular, I'll quote from a Resolution of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (phew!). This calls for, amongst other things, "regular rotation of elected officials; restriction of their incomes to that of skilled workers; the right

to recall them at any time." It says "Revolutionary Marxists reject the substitutionist, paternalistic, and "apparatus" (bureaucratic) deviation from Marxism that sees the socialist revolution, the conquest of state power, and the wielding of state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a task of the revolutionary party acting "in the name of" the class or, in the best of cases, "with the support of" the class."

This is quite encouraging, a change in emphasis (I always thought it was a nasty "anarchist deviation") to want to have rotatable and instantly recallable delegates) and also a more "libertarian" outlook than other Trotskyists. Certainly, this sort of approach makes it ever more indefensible for libertarians to, in a sectarian way, confuse Trotskyism with Stalinism. However, this is only one facet of the IMG's position.

It is also true that the IMG does not attempt any sort of critical reassessment of the history or practice of modern Trotskyism. Also, typically, it is a "theoretical" article. Theory

is important, and so is "theoretical correctness" but an overemphasis on the latter can lead to a tendency to what Big Flame in their pamphlet "The Revolution Unfinished—A Critique of Trotskyism" refer to as "principled dogmatism". At its worst this is a complete refusal to integrate theory with practice, and a real error of method.

A crucial problem referred to in the article I've quoted is that of "substitutionism", that is the

initiation, but as yet there is no evidence for it. For the time being Big Flame stress the need for action as a basis for unity, their preparedness to reassess the relationship between the revolutionary organisation, the mass movement, and the class as a whole, and their realisation that the struggles of women and other oppressed groups have their own revolutionary dynamic, make their ideas more attractive. However, even with them there is, or seems to be, a contradiction between some of these ideas and their views on the role and scope of their organisation.

BIG FLAME

Debate

The A.W.A. is a libertarian communist group, but we are not only prepared to debate with other organisations on the left, but also to work with them in united fronts in campaigns provided that these are organised democratically, and have a clear minimum basis for participation.

We are active in several such campaigns at the moment, and will also be taking the opportunity to raise the question of a Public Sector Alliance in the left, since we see this as important for the success of the struggle against the present attacks on working class living standards.

The initiatives are welcome since they open up, rather than give the answers to, a wide set of questions about the scope and role of a revolutionary organisation, now and after the revolution, its relationship to the mass movement, its internal democracy etc. Libertarian ideas not only can but should be raised around these questions. More important, perhaps, the united campaigns can encourage the growth of joint action from the bottom up.

C.M.



Squatters Union

THERE HAS BEEN little all-London coordination of squatting work since the days of the London Squatters' Federation in the early 70s. This grouping soon collapsed, due to inactivity and the number of people involved who were opposed to all forms of meaningful organisation.

SAC

A small grouping that attempted to act as an all-London body, the Squatters Action Council, while

active in getting out a regular broadsheet and in organising a large number of large scale squats, was not really representative of the squatting groups in London, in that few delegates from these bodies ever attended SAC meetings.

Now, however, with the Tories firmly entrenched in the Greater London Council, and the Criminal Trespass Act about to become law, more determined line has been taken by many London squatters in the establishment of the London

Squatters Union. The SAC announced its intention to dissolve itself into the new organisation and tentative moves were made to discuss forms of organisation and a Squatters Charter to be adopted by the Union.

First meeting

When the first meeting of the Union met on July 21st, just off the Tottenham Court Road, some draft proposals on organisation were ready to be discussed. 80-100 squatters attended the meeting, and a number of established local groupings were

HERE LIES ELVIS PRESLEY
R.I.P.
DIED: 1958 BURIED: 1977

ELVIS PRESLEY made his first recording 'That's All Right (Mama)' in 1954 for Sun Records of Memphis, backed with 'Blue Moon of Kentucky'. The first was a blues originally recorded by Arthur 'Big Boy' Crudup, the latter a cover of the bluegrass song by Bill Monroe.

"How rhythm and blues was plundered by white capitalism in the evolution of rock 'n' roll has now been put on record, although subsequent histories have failed to emphasise the injustice of this situation", Tony Cummings in *Roots, Forefathers and Originators*.

In many ways this analysis, widely accepted in certain circles, fails to understand the originality of Presley and other white artists in evolving a fusion of blues and country music, in the form of rockability and rock 'n' roll.

What the rise to fame of Presley shows is the deeply entrenched racism throughout America, where enthusiasts of black music, like Sam Phillips, the owner of Sun, realised that it was necessary for a white artist to perform black songs to bring the whole range of rhythm and blues to a white audience.

There had always been a mutual exchange of style between black and white musicians in the South, and this cultural crossover was the only thing that ever broke through racist institutions.

That is until artists like Presley were able to reveal the hidden *Leaves of Grass* of 'race music' to the great white public.

"Black artists like Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, the Coasters etc., were able to march through the gap in the wall that Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis and Bill Haley had opened, and this represented.

One of the encouraging aspects of the meeting was the unanimous feeling that a structured organisation had to be built, with membership monthly payments, and elected officials. This shows a great development in that many of the people who were urging this, had several years before in the London Squatters Federation argued against all formal organisation.

Autonomy

Much of the afternoon meeting was taken up with a discussion over whether the Squatters Union should be open to anyone who agreed with the Squatters Charter or whether it should be limited to squatters, licensees and the homeless.

Certain members of SAC argued for the former. Two libertarian communists at the meeting, one a member of the AWA, then put forward a motion that the Squatters Union should limit membership to squatters, the homeless, licensees and short-term housing tenants.

They argued that the autonomous organisation of squatters vital and that any move against this would not only damage squatters' self-organisation but the principle of autonomy as applied in women's and black groups.

They felt that those who wished to support the Squatters Union, who are themselves one of the above categories, should receive membership with no voting rights.

After a number of motions being voted on, this concept was finally accepted by a large majority.

was followed up in later years with the popularity of soul music. Presley himself on his first Sun recordings reveals a remarkable talent. "Those sides . . . catch a world of risk, will, passion and natural nobility." Graef Marous in *Mystery Train*.

Young whites, attempting in an incoherent way to break away from wartime austerity and the dominance in the charts of people like Rosemary Clooney, identified heavily with Presley's songs.

They seemed to celebrating freedom and the casting away of constraint.

One of Elvis's chief contributions was his catalytic role in helping crystallise a volatile new culture, the youth culture, which demonstrates from time to time young people's dissatisfaction with capitalist society.

This rebellion is manifested through style, adopting a particular form of music, type of dress and patterns of speech.

Only rarely does this youth culture speak in an openly political way, though it can be that youth plays an active role in the revolutionary upheavals of the last twenty years, in particular Hungary '56.

Unfortunately, Presley's uniqueness was not to last. The big record companies began to realise how they could exploit what they saw as a new market.

In Charlie Gillett's words: "Gradually, but thoroughly, the characteristics that distinguished the rock 'n' roll of 1956 were eliminated: strong regional accents; self-composed songs; simple open musical arrangements, featuring a small number of instruments with a solo an improvised solo by.

The establishment of the London Squatters Union is a big step forward for squatters. However, to consolidate this, it is vital that strong local groups develop inside the LSU, and that these groups actively work with tenants and trade union groups around the question of housing.

Squatting will become more fraught with hazards over the next few years, with the Criminal Trespass Laws making it so much easier for councils etc to get evictions. Nevertheless, the housing crisis, with a worsening in London, will increase the numbers of people squatting.

No cure

The new laws won't prevent squatting, they will only aggravate the chances of violent confrontations between squatters and the police and bailiffs.

It will become necessary for mass squats, i.e. a whole street or a block of flats, to become the norm, rather than isolated squats that can be easily evicted.

This requires coordination and organisation, and regular squatters meetings to keep up communication with local trades councils, union branches and tenants associations.

A united front of these bodies can draw up alternative housing policies to present to the local council, and the gutting of empty houses.

The London Squatters Union has taken up organisational primacy, now the way is open to take up these political ones.

saxophone, guitar, or piano worked out spontaneously in the studio. In their place, uncalculated voices, songs composed by people who didn't sing, written arrangements for large orchestras and choruses. ("The Sound of the City")

And so Elvis, under his astute manager Colonel Tom Parker, became a simile for everything that was most effete, plastic and unsuspicious about popular music.

The big businessmen, in their search for a quick buck, had torn the guts out of a music that had some vitality, some life, and which had been the product of young blacks and whites. In the cities like New York and Chicago, and in the deep south farmlands of Tennessee.

Presley lived on to become a denizen of one of his songs—'Heartbreak Hotel'—lonely and isolated, and able only occasionally to break through the cocoon of blandness that had been woven around him.

I.N.

What's in a name... WHY WE'RE CHANGING

IN THE last copy of *Anarchist Worker* we promised to explain fully why we were changing our name from AWA to Libertarian Communist Group.

Over the last few years, the AWA has been going through a number of changes.

It developed out of traditional anarchism, and away from the 'affinity groups' form of organisation towards something that guaranteed the utmost democracy whilst being effective at the same time.

In England, unlike the continent, anarchism has been plagued with various forms of liberalism and pacifism masquerading as forms of libertarianism.

The recognition of the working class as the key to a revolutionary change in society was absent from many groups.

The AWA reaffirmed an allegiance to working class revolution.

It saw that it was necessary to go beyond the ideal rhetoric and the trumpeting of 'revolution now!' to attempting to organise thoughtfully and effectively so that that revolution could be achieved.

The AWA/LCG is still attempting to show ways in which the working class can mobilise around demands that will strengthen it and prepare for the taking of power as a class.

This requires much work and discussion.

This process is not complete inside the organisation, and we know we have a long way to go, but we hope and feel we can achieve greater political clarity. Our police around united front work and the public sector alliance are examples of this.

Along with other groups on the continent, we began to describe themselves as libertarian communists, we saw the way in which traditional anarchism had fossilised, had become yet another 'religion' like the other ossified 'religions' of the left.

Traditional anarchism refused to look at the modern world, developed its own list of saints of whom it was anathema to critics in however mild a form.

It squandered a Pavlovian reaction to any discussion about revolution and full communism, when we began to talk about workers' power or an anti-statist dictatorship of the proletariat,

Half Marx

When we, and our comrades in Europe, began to talk about the need for a transitional period between the first day of the revolution and full communism, when we began to talk about workers' power or an anti-statist dictatorship of the proletariat,



failures of syndicalism, in particular in Spain.

We see the failure of anarchists to develop a satisfactory form of organisation to effectively combat capitalism.

Where we do look in history is to the actual moments of revolution when the class itself became a major actor on the stage of social struggle. Hungary '56 and May '68 are prime examples.

And we look to those groups who attempted to move forward. The Organisational Platform group of 1936, Camillo Berneri and the Friends of Durruti (Spain 1937), the Federation Communiste Libertaire and the Gruppo Anarchico di Azione Proletaria (France and Italy, the 50s) the Groupe Anarchistes d'Action Revolutionnaire around the journal *Noir et Rouge* (1955-1968).

The date is 1977. Capitalism has advanced and developed: we have gained a host of new experience in revolutionary developments since the late 50s.

We must move forward out of the mausoleums and cemeteries where the bleached bones of sectarianism and the mummified corpses of ideology lie.

Links

We define ourselves as libertarian communists and we seek links with those abroad who share our perspectives in order to build an internationalism.

Our approach to other groups will be open-ended, on the lines of revolution, the Germanist discussion, for that is a genuine affirmation of effective organisation, self-management of people and society are more important than labels.

The Liberation of the Working Class is The Task of the Working Class itself.

Editorial Collective

BRISTOL RECOGNITION DISPUTE

LOW WAGES, primitive work conditions, an atrocious boss who pushes his workers around and alarms or extortions, and hearing, ventilation and safety are all bad.

The dispute blew up over the good. Picketing, blacking and financial support will win this dispute. To win contact Dave Yeomans (AUEW-TASS full-time) Room 5, 2nd floor, York House, Bond St., Bristol.

This was the last straw. Some workers joined AUEW-TASS. For a second refused to recognise the union and

then sacked two men. Now the workers are on strike. Radford obviously thinks he's still in control. doesn't like unions. Sounds familiar doesn't it? No, this isn't Grunwicks, but Radford Electronics, a small engineering firm in Bristol.

Pay there is very low, with engineers taking home as little as £21 or £28 a week, and women earning 80 pence an hour before deductions. There are no fire alarms or extinguishers, and hearing, ventilation and safety are all bad.

The dispute blew up over the good. Picketing, blacking and financial support will win this dispute. To win contact Dave Yeomans (AUEW-TASS full-time) Room 5, 2nd floor, York House, Bond St., Bristol.

With acknowledgement to 'Bristol Voice'.

The Lessons of Lewisham

AT LEWISHAM on Aug 13th and at Ladywood in Birmingham on Aug 15th, two anti-fascist confrontations occurred which, because of their size and militancy, mark a step forward in the campaign against Fascism in this country.

Lewisham was a defeat for the National Front. Their provocative 'anti-muggers' march through an area of South London with a high immigrant population was small, probably less than a thousand, on what was supposed for them to be a national mobilisation, and came under heavy attack throughout.

When the police charged and led the march onto New Cross Road the NF were met with a barrage of bricks, bottles and smoke-bombs. Their march was split and some of their banners grabbed and burnt. They dispersed near Lewisham Station, having only gone half the distance they had planned to, and most of that down side-roads.

At Ladywood the NF succeeded in holding their by-election meetings, but were severely harassed by anti-fascists.

Violence

Both of these events were confrontations on the grand scale, and have gained a great deal of distorting publicity from the media. The injuries to the police were exaggerated, at usual, and the number of the demonstrators hurt was minimised.

Both events were very violent and the majority of the violence occurred between demonstrators and police. We must be clear that the responsibility for the violence rests with the police.

At Lewisham the police allowed the NF to march, and insisted on clearing New Cross Rd for them to use with a charge of mounted police, when of course they could have dispersed the NF or led them by another route. In Lewisham High Street they issued riot shields and attacked the rioters in order to show that they were in charge. If they only wanted to disperse the anti-fascists, they could have told them that by then the NF had already given up and gone home.

As long as the police protect the right of Fascists and racists to express their views there will be confrontations. We know that Nazi movements must be smashed before they can gain a foothold. We know that for every successful racist demonstration many immigrants and Trade Unionists will suffer physical



Riot shields, developed N. Ireland, are used for the first time on mainland UK streets. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

attacks. We cannot allow the NF to win control of our streets.

Blacks

The most surprising thing about the confrontations was the militancy of the black youth. In both Lewisham and Ladywood it was they who in the main were prepared to take on the police and to throw missiles. The reasons for this militancy are fairly obvious. Blacks in this country are discriminated against. Many are unemployed. Many black youths have no future except the sole queue. In South London, Birmingham and elsewhere they are subjected to racist abuse and frequently

physical violence. Blacks, especially young blacks, are constantly harassed by the police. The struggle in Lewisham is largely due to controversy between Fascists and their opponents over the midnight police raids on so-called 'muggers' which resulted in the arrest of 21 West Indian youths under the notorious conspiracy laws.

What was apparent at Lewisham and Ladywood was the naked hatred of the police by the blacks. The events of this year's Notting Hill Carnival show that there is a rising tide of frustration among the blacks, and their determination to hit back at the police.

The events have altered the nature of the anti-fascist struggle. We must not only rely on the police force as possible against the NF, though we've got to avoid the kind of mistake the Communist Party makes, and not end up falling behind some loose liberal of left vicar! We will work with people, but on the basis of a clear political agreement.

An encouraging fact of the Lewisham event, which I attended, was the presence of groups such as Women Against Racism and Fascism, gay groups and even a sizeable Anarchist contingent! Such militants should not be ignored by the more 'orthodox' sections of the Left when groups organise together against Fascism.

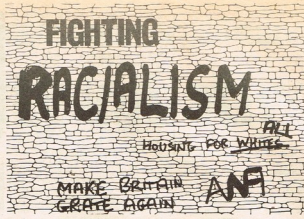
Above all, we've got to face up to the challenge that the militancy of the young blacks presents to the Left. We shouldn't try to co-opt them into the party as the SWP tries to do, but we shouldn't be uncritical of the blacks' lack of political awareness either. The first step to solve this will be to work with blacks against racism, without ignoring the need for their self-organisation. Co-option is one thing, co-operation another.

Police

Tactically, we need to be prepared to be faced by an increasingly highly-trained police force using increasingly sophisticated technology of repression. riot-shields may be only the first piece of equipment in daily use in Northern Ireland to be given to our police force. We need to examine the problems raised by the escalation of the conflict, the use of riot-shields, police horses, missiles etc.

In the near future, on Oct 8th, the NF are holding a march and meeting in Tameside. Tameside Anti-Fascist Committee are calling for a mass counter-demonstration. Help build for this now. Create a mass anti-fascist presence that can stop them!

Dave Higgins.



"What do you think of a secret society of foreigners persecuting Germans? Large masses of people can be brought into deep identification with one another or any given person if they share a common sinister design and if someone steps forward and stirs them... If only we had the energy of Nazis."

It is a difficult task to find such an enemy, since he must be not present yet credible. I recommend that we nominate the Jews to be this enemy. In Germany there were 600,000 of them against 60,000,000. That is a good ratio. —Siegfried Bernfeld, psychobiologist and sociologist, 1926.

CONDITIONS in Britain are very similar today to those in Germany fifty years ago. Rising prices, industrial stagnation, unemployment and increasing misery for the mass of people.

A fragmented, weak and confused working class but all faith in the promises of German politicians.

Except for one — Adolf Hitler, who turned Bernfeld's speculation into reality.

Scapegoat

Today, sections of the British establishment are creating a "common sinister design" — the blacks. There are 1.5 million blacks in a total population of 55 million. Not a bad ratio.

One way they have done this is to paint all blacks as criminals. The press, local and national, have bent at the forefront of this.

A few years back, the Press began saturating the news with cases of muggings, reporting those which involved blacks. This gave the impression that mugging was a new crime and that blacks were the main offenders.

In fact, mugging existed long before. Its incidence did not increase a few years back, only the reporting of mugging.

In fact, all the figures used by Powell and other racists are based on the figures of blacks arrested not those convicted. This is true of all the other areas of crime that blacks are blamed for. Since police forces black people everywhere note the number picked up on 'hospitals' — it is too bloody surprising that the arrest figures show a high proportion of blacks.

Violence, the number of black people violence has been used a greatly exaggerated by the newspapers carefully selecting sensational news.

No one can deny that some blacks commit crimes. Crime that there is higher unemployment and more low paid jobs amongst blacks than whites.

But this is a long way off from saying that blacks are the main criminals. Yet some people in authority have said just that.

Justice?

Take the case of Judge Gwyn Morris: On sentencing black youths in South London in May he said, "Within living memory these areas were peaceful, safe."



Victims of police attack at Notting Hill C



Mounted police attempt to force a way through anti-fascist demonstrators at Lewisham. They were forced to retreat. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

Blacks against the law



Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)



ival. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

and agreeable to live in. But the immigrant settlement which has occurred over the last 25 years has radically transformed the environment.

A while ago he passed sentences on six black youths convicted of theft, robbery and burglary. No violence was involved.

The youths, aged between 16 and 17, were given sentences ranging from three to seven years in prison or detention.

While passing sentence the Judge advocated that whites set up vigilante groups.

Within a week Judge Gwynn Morris was presiding over a case in which three whites had assaulted and injured three blacks.

Two were given suspended sentences while the third was given a mere three years.

Did the learned Judge advise blacks to set up self-defence groups?

You bet he didn't.

As the crisis deepens, blacks will be singled out more and more in the attempt to avert the common enemy danger.

The result will be, as it was in Germany, to divert the attention away from the true crisis and to raise the sort of hysteria among the working class that will in any grey fear the tactics of the fascists.

Black and white must unite to fight this racism together.

More fundamentally they must fight against the economic conditions which give rise to racism.

The small but growing resistance to the outbursts in public spending can form the beginning to this.

Ken Hartwell

Anarchist Worker talks to anti-racist militant

THE ANTI-FASCIST and anti-racist activities that usually get reported in the Left press are counter-demos against the National Front. Anti-fascist work also involves more than this.

Anarchist Worker: Do you think counter-demos are of any use?

Keith Harris: The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Fewer N.F. turned up than we had expected on April 23. It's vital that fascists are not allowed to openly provoke national minorities.

A counter-demo is one way for the working-class, black and white, to show its determination to prevent such provocation.

What tactics should be used in the counter-demo?

The tactics must fit the circumstances, but basically the aim must be to prevent the fascists from marching.

It is not enough to hold a "demonstration against racism", as the Trades Council did at Stechford, over a mile away from the racists!

The right tactic was shown by the larger number of people who prevented the racists from marching into the areas of Stechford where the blacks live.

Some of those who took part in the April 23 counter-demo, Labour councillors and such, were more interested in making fine vote-winning winning speeches against racism than in stopping the Front.

In fact the Labour Council has a racist housing policy and has recently white-washed a report which only proved what Black youth have known all along, that Haringey police

Anarchist Worker spoke to Keith Harris, a member of Haringey Campaign Against Racism, one of the groups that originally set up the 23 April Committee.

harass black youth.

Do you not believe in unity of the Left on such issues?

Being Left is not what you call yourself, it's what you do. The people who call for most unity on the left are usually those who either do fuck all or what they do is so much of a compromise to the right that they have to cover themselves by calling the others, who take the working-class line, splitters.

There are real dangers in Popular Fronts, that is, an alliance of working-class politics with wishy-washy social democratic and liberal politics.

First, such people are not usually committed to stopping the Front, and may, if they are stewards, try and prevent such action.

Second, they'll barrage you with such platitudes as "we can all live together", "one race—the human race" etc. Working-class politics is quite clear on this point—racism is not a failure of races to integrate, but a product of capitalism. The nation-state exists to look after the interests of national capitalists. In a crisis, the capitalists see a national solution.

Fascism is one such solution, a very extreme one. But another example is precisely what the Labour Government is doing: it was Labour that introduced the 1967 Immigration Act.

Working-class militants must clearly state: There is no single human

human race, but a race of classes—bosses and workers!

How then should socialists operate in anti-racist and anti-fascist work?

All anti-fascists with a working-class perspective, that is to say, who see racism as firmly rooted in capitalism itself, must organise together. Such a united front would consist of revolutionary socialists and left social democrats from many political tendencies.

It would be united on specific objectives. I see three such objectives.

First, no platform for racists and fascists. This covers for example, counter-demos and actions against local racist newspapers.

Secondly, an attack upon racism in the state institution. The most glaring example of this is immigration control. Such control suggests that it is the numbers of immigrants that cause problems such as unemployment, bad housing, etc. whereas in fact it is the capitalist crisis that is the cause. These racist laws must be challenged.

Thirdly, black self-organisation must be encouraged, and supported by the white working-class. An autonomous black movement is necessary to combat the specific oppression that blacks suffer.

This will range from defence against fascist and police harassment to challenging discrimination in unions and the like.

So you see, anti-racism is far more than just Front bashing.

What do you see as the next step?

The next step must be for local committees to form a national federation. This is crucial, because local struggles need wider support, and some issues, such as immigration controls, can only be fought nationally.

Furthermore, a nation federation would be better equipped to investigate, expose and fight fascist activities.

'HOWLING MOB ATTACK POLICE'

From my seat in Finch's wine bar I looked down upon the most violent scenes yet as ranting left-wing rentamob extremists clashed with police.

The trouble started when rentamob leftwing ranting extremists charged at the police who were escorting a peaceful demonstration.

The extreme leftwing ranting rentamob showed its utter disregard for democracy by attempting to prevent every Briton's right to incite racism and organise a fascist state.

They hurled concrete slabs, corrugated iron and ten-ton lorries at police after the Front had dispersed.

Jim Partial

"The young workers were the power of the revolution. The students began it, but when it developed they did not have the numbers or the ability to fight as hard as these young workers."

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was watershed in socialist history.

Now, after the Stalinist ice age which had gripped the working class movement for so long, came a thaw: a lot of people began to question the very nature of Communist Party ideology.

An Anarchist Worker Special Supplement describes the events — the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe; the death of Stalin; the riots in East Berlin and Poland; the unrest in Hungary leading up to the revolution of October; the formation of workers and peasants councils; a glorious flowering of genuine proletarian revolution; the street fighting; and the eventual crushing of the revolution.

Single copies 5p + post from AWA.

c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8. Bulk orders welcome.

DISSECTING THE CNT Upsurge in Spain

THE revival of the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (legalised the 4th of May—40,000 strong at that time) is indicative not only of the strength of the libertarian movement in Spain but also of a real new non-party, non-aligned movement in favour of workers self-organisation.

The CNT gains credibility through its practice of supporting struggles unconditionally and with no strings attached, and through its call for the destruction of the Francoist union structure, its refusal to indulge in class collaboration and its proposals for workers self-organisation at grass roots level.

It is becoming the main opposition to reformism and the spearhead of the anti-capitalist struggle.

From what was seen at meetings in Barcelona the CNT has a large percentage of young militants (20-30 years old) a great number of whom are women, which gives it a particular outlook—not altogether without problems.

At the moment an important discussion is going on in the CNT between several tendencies, often on a regional level.

This has not affected the growing support of workers but will no doubt, if the contradictions become more acute.

In the main there are 3 tendencies 1) The Anarchists—made up of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (traditional anarchists, *Frente Libertario*, a more radical group around an exile party of the same name in France, anarcho-syndicalists and the tendency which has grown out of the ideas of 1968 in France, generally anti-syndicalist and "folklorique"). 2) Libertarian communists and the tendency for workers autonomy in general. 3) The reformist syndicalists.

In Catalonia for example antagonism had reached such a point that an extraordinary general meeting was convened and the general secretary and the regional committee resigned, forcing re-elections. Nevertheless, the ever-growing Catalan CNT is the most important in Spain.

In the Basque country collaboration with the local union (LAB) and some separatists could give the Euzkadi CNT a short life.

In the regional developments can be found ideological tendencies which illustrate the complexity of the Spanish situation even within the CNT.

In Central Spain the dominant tendencies are FAIist and syndicalist.

In Asturias, Proudhonian tendencies; in Andalucía, libertarian communist and council communist; while in Valencia trotskyst tendencies have entered the union.

In fact there are people from all sorts of traditions—ex-members of the Communist and Socialist Parties, and the Trotskyist LCR, ex-chalangists, Christians, council communists, which creates enormous problems and an atmosphere of confusion.

A libertarian communist said on this "The fact is, that despite its growth, the CNT has not yet set a big working class base, it has not yet defined an alternative trade union strategy, to the establishment or to the left. It is in this context that we are struggling for a CNT that is able to respond to the revolutionary demands of the workers. For this it must overcome the immediate problem, that the militants fight more on an organisational level than on base level, where spontaneous demands need the support of a class-based organisation which will deal with them as they stand without embroiling them in the infighting of tendencies which rivals the reformist parties."

The Spanish situation shows us that a union organisation that is a real weapon of struggle, but in a wider form than in the anarcho-syndicalist tradition from which it has sprung historically.

The CNT must be independent of all the political tendencies, libertarian included, and must be open to all groupings of autonomous workers. The anarchists must have their own specific organisation, as well as the young libertarians.

In Spain, the libertarian communists are syndicalists only in the sense that they believe that the CNT is the only mass organisation with clearly revolutionary aims and practice as far as workers self-organisation is concerned, and that it would be crazy to create another organisation.

They work within the CNT in order to advance the struggle in this context, to oppose bourgeois influence and reformist influence, and to promote the disengagement on all fronts.

However, the *Movimiento Comunista Libertario* dissolved itself into the CNT last year which was a mistake. The MCL is now reconstituting itself, realising the need for a nationally coordinated organisation which can act effectively both inside the CNT and within the broader social and political struggle.

The launching of a national paper will, it is hoped, widen the debate between libertarian communists and within the CNT.

Information from *Front Libertario*, the paper of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire (France).

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE



CNT meeting at San Sebastian: 25,000 people. Photo: Front Libertario

Review

Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution —Jose Peirats, *Black and Red Paperback*, 400p. £2.95.

Jose Peirats was an active member of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, the anarcho-syndicalist union that at times commanded the allegiance of masses of workers. For some years he was Secretary General of the CNT in exile.

This book printed for the first time in English, is a welcome addition to the literature of the Spanish revolutionary movement.

It gives in some detail the growth of the Spanish libertarian movement from the last decades of the 19th century up to the Civil War and Revolution. It chronicles the various important labour disputes the CNT was involved in.

Unfortunately, Peirats has not learnt enough from his own experience and that of the CNT as a whole during the Spanish Revolution, the more was demanded of us.

He has learnt some things however, and at times he is able to see things clearly.

For example, he admits the institutionalisation of the war into trench warfare.

"The Spanish Anarchists suffered from an excessively vain orientation in their revolutionary or rather, insurrectionary, aims. If the

insurrection was lost in the cities, the villages were written off. We never thought that we would have to prepare for civil war by organising support bases for guerrilla actions in the countryside and the mountains, and by developing supply systems for such activities and training select troops as guerrillas. With its tortuous geography Spain is a good terrain for guerrilla warfare, and a well organised guerrilla force would have defeated soldiers trained for a war of continuous fronts.

In the last world war the Spanish Army itself used guerrilla warfare and the Vietnamese and the Palestinians are still using it. Guerrilla organisation could have saved the North from Franco. Our trench warfare was a gift that we made to Franco. The war of fronts led the CNT into the mire of political collaboration and to give up our past without any kind of recompense, since the more we surrendered as we collaborated, the more was demanded of us.

He is critical of the way in which democracy began to disappear inside the libertarian movement, but because he stands in the centre, halfway between the collaboratorists and those who wanted to deepen the revolution, he is unable to come up with any satisfactory explanations of the course of events.

Peirats is able to see that the CNT and the FAI went in for far too simplistic propaganda to the masses. "Anarchism is largely responsible for its own bad reputation in the world. It did not consider the

thorny problems of means and ends. In their writings, many anarchists conceived of a miraculous solution to the problem of revolution. We fell easily into the trap in Spain. We believed that "once the dog is dead the rabbit is over". We proclaimed a full-blown revolution without worrying about the many complex problems that a revolution brings with it."

Peirats was able to prophesy the fall down the role of the libertarian communist opposition to the sell outs (Camille Berneri, the Libertarian Youth, Friends of Durruti).

The last group Peirats dismisses is the "young revolutionaries" who are contemplating former successes as pie in the sky.

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IN BRIEF

French president Giscard d'Estaing gave his Cabinet Ministers strict instructions before their holidays this summer—don't wear swimming trunks while the photographers are around.

The reason—the French people are undergoing a period of severe belt-tightening, as workers living standards are slashed to pay for the crisis of capitalism.

Giscard was worried that if the bulging waistlines of some of his ministers were exposed to public view, it could cause unrest.

Leader of the cabinet fannies is Economy Minister Raymond Barre. His other main claim to fame is as author of the austerity programme, known as the Barre Plan. He's obviously been having a swell time while forcing workers to cut back on essentials.

Peirats and the past

means that the Friends of Durruti called for the extension of the revolution and the seizure of power by the working class.

Honesty

Peirats is honest enough in his detailed accounts of the divisions in the CNT. Between the more "reformist" elements and the principled revolutionaries of the Catalan Young Libertarians: who

"circumstantially" of CNT participation in the governments of Madrid and Catalonia.

He is critical of the way in which democracy began to disappear inside the libertarian movement, but because he stands in the centre, halfway between the collaboratorists and those who wanted to deepen the revolution, he is unable to come up with any satisfactory explanations of the course of events.

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Renaissance

Hopefully now that the Spanish libertarian movement is re-emerging with a vengeance the mistakes of the past can be learnt from.

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PICKET PROTEST OVER BULGARIAN ANARCHISTS

ON THE weekend of Sept 10th and 11th two pickets were held in London to protest against the maltreatment of anarchists in Bulgaria. The picket on Saturday was held outside the offices of the Bulgarian Tourist Board in Regent St, the one on Sunday outside the Bulgarian Embassy near Gloucester Road.

Bulgaria is one of the most Stalinist of the states of Eastern Europe. Its foreign policy is totally subservient to the Kremlin, and there is very little internal democracy. This state of affairs has existed ever since the Red Army moved in at the end of the Second World War. They took over the workers councils and soldiers militias which the Bulgarians had formed in their struggle against

the fascist clique which had led them into war on the side of Germany.

Stalin's Red Army ushered in the government of the Fatherland Front. This government suppressed all the opposition currents which had briefly flourished in the struggle against the country's old fascist leaders.

Since the war the political history of Bulgaria is one of unswerving allegiance to the Kremlin, and the continued persecution of dissidents inside the country.

Orlando Kolev, a leading militant of the Bulgarian Anarcho-Communist Movement, has spent 11 years in jail for his attacks on the bureaucracy and his anarchist beliefs. A group of libertarian students were imprisoned in 1969 for distributing a pamphlet attacking the regime. More recently, dissidents have been arrested for

distributing copies of the Czechoslovak Charter 77.

The pickets were organised by the Social Revolution group, and attended by members of most libertarian groups i.e. Solidarity, Social Revolution, ANA, AWA, Provisional' AWA.

It was a pity that Social Revolution did not seek the support of anyone beyond the confines of the 'libertarian' left, and also that this seems to have been a one-off event. However, they say that they intend the pickets to be "part of an on-going campaign against the repression of libertarians

world-wide." If you're interested, contact T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Creek, SE9 5HZ, C.M.

By 'Marxist' language, Peirats

Anarchist Worker

CUT GRUNWICK OFF!

A YEAR has now passed since the workers at Grunwicks first struck against their reactionary, anti-union employer, George Ward, over conditions and the issue of union recognition.

The struggle continues, though since the decline in the size and combastiveness of the daily picket the bourgeois press have been paying the affair much less attention.

No poor suffering members of the Special Patrol Group to present as victims, so less coverage, perhaps?

The Government's plan to defuse the situation by its use of Lord Justice Scarman's 'Court of Enquiry' seems to be at the end of its usefulness.

Contrary to what some of even the Left press has said, the report only came out very indirectly in favour of the strikers.

Report

The report condemns mass picketing, and points the way for the Government to tighten up the law on it.

It recommends re-instatement, and if that's 'not possible', compensation for the strikers. In effect Scarman has approved of Ward taking on scab labour to replace the strikers, and said that the scabs' jobs now have a higher priority than those of the workers they were brought in to replace.

Even though the report says that Union representation at the factory would be 'a good thing', it at no point makes any clear recommendation on it.

Of course, the Court of Enquiry was a Government manoeuvre from the start. It has no power to enforce its report. Ward has said in the past that he would rather close the factory than take any of the strikers back. He and his advisers from the 'New Right', the National Association For Freedom, have said that they won't be bound by the decisions of the Court of Enquiry, but only by the Law Courts, and it looks as if the legal battle between Ward and the Government's Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service will go to the House of Lords and the ages.

Militant

Of course the militant Strike Committee and the union involved, APEX, want a speedy end to the dispute. If Ward refuses to accept the Scarman report, or refuses to negotiate at all, then all the resources of the labour movement will have to be mobilised. The Trades Union Congress will be told of the situation and asked

for their support. All supplies and services to the factory will have to be shut off, and mass picketing used to close the factory.

However, things probably won't be as simple as that. The strike committee are more militant than the Union, as you'd expect, and are not so prepared to be sidetracked into meaningless negotiations. It is their directions as to how to carry the dispute forward that we should pay attention to, not those of the APEX bureaucracy.

Ward has not got the support of most capitalists, who prefer less explosive labour relations. If he wins this dispute it'll give a great boost to the Right throughout the country. Indeed, even if he loses, one thing that will have come out of the dispute is the apparent ease with which scab labour can be recruited, from among the same layer of people as make up the majority of the strikers.

Victory

If we win this strike it'll open up the way forward for those very same layers of workers. The majority of the Grunwicks strikers are Asian women who are getting dreadful wages and working in dreadful conditions. Many workers in similar situations will take heart from their example.

Of course, we're not uncritical of Trades Unions, because of their reformism and lack of democracy, but anyone looking at Grunwicks can see that in such a situation a union is an essential help, and unionisation is a progressive demand.

Supporters of Anarchist Worker are urged to do all they can to help win this dispute. Raise the issue in your union, send donations to the strike committee, above all if you can, join the picket and any mass action that may occur. Let's make the struggle a reality!

THE WORKERS UNITED, WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!

Bill Williams.



Grunwick picket at first day of TUC conference—delegates urged the strikers by passing a vague resolution. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

The shape of things to come?

SIR Keith Joseph, millionaire reactionary Tory politician, recently caused rather a furor by condemning the Scarman Report on the Grunwick dispute.

The question immediately asked by even the reactionary press was "Does he speak for the Tory party, are they all set for another clash with the unions?"

Well, a speech by James Prior, Shadow Employment Minister, fairly soon made it clear that the official Shadow Cabinet line was less overtly anti-union, and that Sir Keith was speaking only for himself. However, the fact remains that Maggie Thatcher is pretty reactionary even for the Tory party, the most right-wing leader they've had for years, and she regards Sir Keith as a kind of guru figure.

Election

We've got to worry about such things because it's a very real possibility that the Tories will win the next election. Even if there is some kind of minor economic recovery in the next six months or so, and even if the benefits of that are passed on quickly to the voters in tax concessions etc., it's difficult to see Labour voters turning out in vast numbers to re-elect the most consistently anti-working class Labour government in history.

So, what kind of Tory government would Thatcher lead? We know that Robert Moss, a leading light of the NAFF has written speeches for her, and that she has

had social contacts with NAFF members and their groups.

We know that the ideas of such people as Joseph and Moss do influence the Tories. I think that Joseph in his remarks was just keeping his supporters aware of his existence, and undoubtedly he does appeal to the sort of people who read the *Daily Mail* or *Express*, the reactionary petit-bourgeoisie.

Attacks

Essentially the Tories have moved to the right since the days of Heath, and we should all remember that he fought the unions over the Industrial Relations Act in 1971 and the Miners Strike in 1974. However, though Thatcher is definitely committed to the idea of the strong state, to fighting for the reestablishment of reactionary cultural and social ideas, she may

have learnt some of the lessons of Heath's period in power.

I think that she will keep Sir Keith and co. under control certainly until after the next election, and probably away from sensitive ministries such as Employment when in power.

Nevertheless we must be prepared to face a vicious attack on working-class living standards if the Tories do come in. In particular, any Tory government would almost certainly launch an attack on the 'social wage' i.e. the provision of such things as education, housing, health care etc.

A Tory government is a bad means a certainty, but if it comes we must be ready to fight. Sir Keith Joseph's support for George Ward is only one hint of the kind of conditions that might prevail in the struggle in a year's time. L.C.

COMMUNITY PAPERS

THERE ARE many alternative and community papers around the country, adopting a wide variety of styles, concerns, and political outlooks. Community politics are a valid, indeed important area of libertarian activity. Though we shouldn't be too didactic, we should be prepared to point out the 'political' lessons of such community activity.

Attempts have been made recently to share information and experience, at a difference held in London last year and at one in Bristol this July.

IDEAS

Because the papers were dissimilar, ranging from the *New Manchester Review*, which has a large circulation and fortnightly production, but looks like London's *Time Out*, to small neighbourhood papers like Newcastle's *Byker Phoenix*, the discussion in Bristol tended to be a bit vague, though of course some good ideas came up.

The workshop on women and trade unions brought up the idea of consistently staffing workplaces in order to develop campaigning links there, and led on to people realising the lack of women working on the papers.

FUTURE

However, what is really needed is to relate the papers' politics to coverage of issues such as housing, education, transport etc. The next conference will take place in Bristol in March 1978 and will cover that sort of ground.

For further info contact Vasek Free Press at 1 Newton Terrace, York, Yorks. Telephone York 37180.

The tyranny of

tRUCurEleSneSS

by

Jo Freeman

5p

In this pamphlet Jo Freeman attempts to sketch out an approach to organization that would prevent the growth of elitist leaderships—which both highly centralized and highly informal groupings

In revolution from the tyrannical structures of governments, unions and other organizations some anarchists have died away from any meaningful consideration of self-organization.

The Anarchist Workers Association played no part in the writing of this pamphlet but has found it highly applicable to the ineffectuality of anarchism in Britain in recent decades.

Send 5p + 7p p&p to AWA, 13 Colston Street, Hull, Humberside for a copy. 10 or more 3/1p each. Please make cheques/P.O.s payable to: 'AWA General Fund.'

JUST OUT: "Campaign against Racism and Fascism, CARF" 12 page bi-monthly anti-racist, anti-fascist paper for use in the fight against racism and fascism. Price 10p. Obtainable from most progressive bookshops, or from the Anti-Racist, Anti-Fascist Co-ordinating Committee, Flat 3.5 Huntley St. London W.C.1.

Libertarian Spain. Bulletin of the Libertarian Spain Committee, 20 pages of information on the situation in Spain, with illustrations. 20p inc. postage, bundles 5 for £1 cwo, from LSC, 136 Burley Rd, Leeds 4. No 1 carries info on the rebirth of the CNT, the June elections, economic and political background.

KEEP ON KNOCKING! MOVEMENT AGAINST A MONARCHY's message to anti-monarchists around the country is "Keep on knocking!" The response to our stickers has been tremendous, we've barely been able to keep pace with the demand.

We're producing a badge—selling at 15p—with the slogan "We won't stand for the National Anthem!"

Movement Against A Monarchy Box M, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Anarchist Worker

SPECIAL EDITION

Stop the Dublin hangings



DEMONSTRATE TO SAVE THE MURRAYS

Saturday July 24th 10am
IRISH EMBASSY GROSVENOR PLACE SW1

DONATIONS ESSENTIAL!

Show Trial and Torture in Dublin

TWO ANARCHISTS — Marie and Noel Murray — were condemned to death without a proper trial in Dublin last May.

The frame-up and subsequent decision of the Government to hang them, marked the high point of two years of violent repression by the Eire state.

Since the passing of the *Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act* two years ago, state repression has been escalating at a horrifying rate.

Today, torture, phone tapping and the use of troops to smash major strikes is a normal part of political life in the Republic.

There is nothing subtle or undercover about the repression: politicians of the three main political parties all proudly proclaim their intention to take a 'tough line' on the question of law and order.

LAW

The ultimate legal weapon of the state is the *Special Criminal Court*. This was set up specially to deal with political cases and goes on the basis that a defendant is guilty until proven innocent.

For example, a senior police officer need only state that a person is in the IRA and their conviction becomes a foregone conclusion.

There is no jury in the *Special Criminal Court*, which is presided over by a three-man tribunal of judges.

The judges are appointed on the basis of their political loyalties and the only qualification necessary is seven years' service in the legal profession OR the army.

Heresy and uncorroborated statements are more than ample for securing a conviction.

In short, the function of the court is to get the 'trial' over as quickly as possible and with the minimum of fuss.

It was this type of *Kangaroo Court* which was used to frame the Murrays and will be used against *Ronan Stenson*... if he ever recovers.

ORDER

Order is administered by police thugs — the Gardaí — who act on the basis of 'kick first and ask questions later'.

Literally anyone can be dragged from their bed, or lifted off the street 'to help the police with their enquiries'.

They can be held without charge for up to 72 hours — and immediately rearrested after that period expires.

Beatings and torture are the rule rather than the exception in these cases, and detainees are frequently kept without food, water or sleep for hours, even days on end.

It is accepted that the police would go to the extent of killing a man.

The decision to hang Noel and Marie Murray comes as the latest stage of the escalating repression: it will be the first hanging in Eire for twenty-two years.

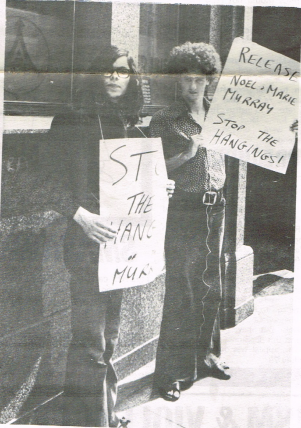
WE MUST FIGHT TO SAVE THE MURRAYS!
WE MUST ALL OPPOSE OPPRESSION IN EIRE!

MURRAYS TO HANG?

AS Noel and Marie Murray approached their Dublin home after a morning stroll they were confronted by a Garda wielding a sub-machine gun.

"You're dead Murray," he screamed.

A few months later, a justice of the *Special Criminal Court* concluded a political show trial by confirming the Garda's sentence.



According to the court, the story of the Murrays started on September 11, 1975, when the Allied Irish Bank was robbed by armed raiders.

As the raiders drove off in their car, an off-duty policeman spotted them and gave chase in his car.

He was not fired upon and managed to follow the raiders to nearby St. Anne's Park, where he was shot in the head.

We do not know exactly what happened in the park, but we can deduce from the forensic reports that Garda Reynolds was probably shot in the course of a scuffle at close quarters.

The eye-witness accounts of the bank-clerks and passers-by varied considerably and the only clue the Garda had was a contact lens case which was found in the raiders' car.

The fact that the Garda had nothing to go on, however, did not deter them.

They saw their chance to nail the Murrays.

WORRIED

The Gardaí were increasingly worried about the activities of the Dublin anarchists.

They suspected that a section of the movement was responsible for a series of bank raids and Des Kean, Columba Longmore and Robert Cullen were already in Curagh Military Prison in connection with a petrol bombing of the Spanish Institute.

You can make up your own mind as to whether the police were chiefly interested in suppressing criminal activity or preventing the Murrays from spending their 'illegitimate gains' to advance the working class struggle.

Police harassment successfully

HOW THE POLICE FRAMED THE MURRAYS

Defence Groups

DUBLIN:
156, Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare

GLASGOW:
163, Great George Street (Tel: 336 7895 evenings)

LONDON:
c/o 823, Haverstock Hill, NW3

MANCHESTER
c/o Grassroots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester 1

PARIS
c/o 177 rue de Charonne (salle Agipca)



EVERY PENNY COUNTS

This *Anarchist Worker* Special on the Murrays was produced collectively by people from Bradford, Dublin, Glasgow and London who are members of their local Murray Defence Committees. Support in the form of money is especially welcome — you can send it either to your nearest Defence Committee or

direct to us and we will make sure it goes where there is the biggest need. **EVERY PENNY COUNTS.** Please send contributions to: AWA, c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E2 2AS, making all cheques/PO's payable to 'AWA General Fund'.

THERE'S NO TIME TO LOSE!

thwarted the establishment of a new anarchist newspaper.

Of course, politically motivated harassment was not confined to the adventurist section of the anarchist movement, but was generally administered across the whole left spectrum.

In short, repression is increasingly the rule in Eire and it came as no surprise to Dubliners when the death of Garda Reynolds was followed by the usual round of raids.

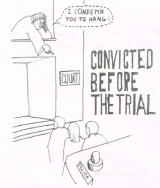
In this case, approximately two hundred raids were conducted, on known activists and even their friends and relatives.

TORTURE

The 'interrogations' of these people consisted of beatings, psychological intimidation and 'longkesh' style techniques.

One citizen who 'helped' the police with their enquiries, sustained several bruised ribs, another was hospitalised for two weeks.

Independent medical reports have confirmed these facts.



The following month, October, twenty armed police surrounded the Murrays' house and awaited their return.

At 10.30 the same morning, Ronan Stenson was dragged from his bed and manhandled into a police car where he was told he was being taken into the mountains to be shot.

Ronan has a strong psychological aversion to violence of any kind and he had been among those who had been 'interrogated' in the first sweep of raids.

The sole reason for picking up Ronan seems to be his political work as a member of the Prisoners Rights Organisation.

Ronan was beaten with a hammer and whipped with a knotted nylon rope, as well as the 'normal' methods of fist beatings, humiliation and intimidation.

When some sort of statement had been taken out of him he was taken to Curragh Military Prison where the army doctor examined him and found extensive bruising on various parts of his body.

He was refused an independent medical examination.

Such was the psychological effect on Ronan that he was on the precipice of a complete nervous

breakdown.

He had been on trial for some time, however, before the authorities decided that he was in no fit state to hear the trial.

He was reported to be "tense, extremely agitated and showing signs of panic proportions".

His barrister informs us that Ronan breaks down every time he tries to relate how the police treated him. Ronan and Marie were interrogated for 17½ hours before they 'broke'.

In the course of the 'interrogation' Marie was put in the cell next to Noel where she could hear him being beaten and having his head forced into the lavatory.

The police told her that he would be killed.

She had every reason to believe them; so she made a statement to save his life.

As far as we know, the beatings did not stop then.

No medical examinations were allowed after the Murrays had made their statements - which 'roughly agreed'.

SHOW TRIAL

The Murrays and Stenson were duly charged and sent before the Special Criminal Court.

The entire prosecution case rested on the 'confessions', other evidence and the statements of prosecution witnesses was vague and contradictory.

The Chief Justice, Plingle, stated that there was no evidence to suggest that statements were anything but voluntary, although the Murrays had since disowned them. Justice Plingle 'requested' that the press should not report on the admissibility of the statements as evidence.

When the press refused to comply they were charged with contempt of court.

The Murrays refused to co-operate with the trial. The Murrays refused to listen to their requests for a fair, unbiased, re-trial that after a time they refused to instruct their counsel.

So for a large part of the trial they were unrepresented and undefended.

PREJUDGED

There have been security leaks which confirm the impression that the BBC knew that the verdict was to be guilty before the judges had officially decided.

Rumour has it that a British hangman had been appointed even before the trial started.

Apparently, no Irishman would go the bloody deed.

The trial went along its predestined course and after six weeks Noel and Marie were found guilty and sentenced to hang.

They were refused the right to appeal, but have since appealed against this decision.

This appeal was due to be heard on July 29.

ANARCHISM & VIOLENCE?

- 1 At the same time as condemning the brutal and inhuman treatment of Marie and Noel Murray at the hands of the State the Anarchist Workers Association believes that the whole issue of revolutionary tactics arising from this case must be seriously considered.
- 2 We believe that 'heroic' acts of isolated individuals can only be counterproductive and a diversion from the real task of building a credible and coherent revolutionary movement within a self-active, consciously libertarian, working class.
- 3 The reasons for this stance are twofold:
 - a) Individual acts of terrorism are adventurist and do not, as their protagonists would have us believe, politicise working people - rather they create a

- guilt between working people and revolutionary politics, leading to increased police support.
- b) Exploiting this rift the State can justify - often with popular support - the introduction of repressive measures, allowing increased police harassment of revolutionaries active in the class struggle, thus hampering the spread of libertarian communist ideas.
- 4 The AWA believes that violence aimed at the overthrow of the State can only arise within the context of a mass-based revolutionary struggle. The need to defend revolutionary gains from assaults by the dispossessed capitalist class will then be widely understood and applied by the proletariat.



DON'T SIT ABOUT - DO SOMETHING

THERE can be no doubt that this was a political trial - whether the Murrays are 'guilty' or not.

All who oppose oppression and injustice in any form must make their protest known.

There is no time to lose and political pressure both from within Ireland and elsewhere may mean the difference between life and death.

Whether you're on your own, a

member of an organisation, trade union or whatever, send a letter or telegram to:

Minister of Justice
72-76 St. Stephens Green
Dublin 2 EIRE

Already several unions, including ETU, NUS and Glasgow Trades Council have sent protests.

Several political groups are involved in active support.

THE BRITISH CONNECTION

AS IS well-known, the British Government has been putting diplomatic pressure on the Eire Government to take harsh measures against the IRA.

However, many TD's (Irish MPs) were reluctant to pass the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act and establish the Special Criminal Court, which framed the Murrays.

At a crucial point during the controversy there were two serious explosions in Dublin, killing two people.

This gave warning TD's the excuse to vote for the 'anti-terrorist' legislation.

It has since been revealed that the bombs were planted by the SAS - the counter-insurgency unit of the British Army, which is responsible directly to Whitehall.

SMASHING THE LEFT

Ireland is a country where repression is building up at a steady rate.

As examples of this is the arrest and torture of the entire Dublin membership of the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the continuous granting of injunctions against strike pickets.

Homeless families who must be evicted without being offered any alternative accommodation and the Army has been used to break not only strikes in power and transport.

The majority of unemployed youth are denied any state money and 'anti-contemptation' laws are further examples.

The main reason for the intensification of legal measures is the worldwide economic crisis.

Whereas in the past the most radical workers and small farmers were forced to emigrate in search of jobs, the present slump has meant that there is nowhere to go.

The authorities fully realise the revolutionary potential of these sectors and are thus preparing to restrict their activity.

Hence the increase in right wing legislation and activity by the Government.

The Murrays are not the only

You can also help with time and money by contacting one of the Murray Defence Committee listed below.

As well as in Eire and Britain 'refuge work' is also being undertaken in France, West Germany, Japan and the United States.

Everyone is fighting to SAVE THE MURRAYS

Take a bundle of this Anarchist Worker Special and pass them around where you work, where you live, to your friends.

All you have to do is send a donation and say how many you could usefully get rid of and you'll receive them by return of post.

Write to: AWA, c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2NS. DO IT NOW!

revolutionaries to face the anger of the state but they are the first to be sentenced to death within the last twenty years.

This is because the Government feels they can 'make an example' out of the Murrays without there being a major outcry.

Our task is to turn the present moan into just that outcry.

But apart from just defending these comrades we also see the need to examine their tactics in a critical light.

Acts of violence by both socialists and nationalists have been common in Ireland for some time.

This is the result of many things including a failure to break away from the traditional military method of organisation and activity.

The best example of this is the Provisional IRA whose bombing campaign has not only alienated the working class but has antagonised them to a large extent.

What else can be expected when everybody is expected to sit back passively while the 'army' carry on the struggle for them?

The very people they need on their side - the working class - get bombed and shot at; accidents are unavoidable in this situation and their tactics only play into the hands of the sectarians.

Also, the state is given the excuse to hide their economic policies under the black cloak of pursuing 'violent extremists' and bring repression in the back-door.

For example, internment would not have been possible at that stage without the offensive bombing campaign of the Provos.

While the Murrays have only been involved in guerilla activity on a small scale, that situation nevertheless forced them into isolation from the workers movement and gave the state a ready-made excuse to witch-hunt anarchists.

However, their political and tactical mistakes will not prevent us from mobilising in their support.